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# KRATER

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THE WORD *κρατήρ*, the great mixing vessel in which the wine was mixed with water and from which it was drawn, is not seldom used metaphorically in religious literature. To begin with, it may be useful to quote a few examples showing how the metaphor is used in secular literature. Pindar calls the messenger who brings his ode a sweet *krater* of loud-sounding songs[1] and Aristophanes calls the sycophant a vessel of evils.[2] Plutarch speaks of a *krater*, placed in the middle which contains myths and arguments mixed up.[3] In Aeschylus Clytaemestra says of Agamemnon that, since he has filled a *krater* in the house with so many evils, having returned he has to drink it off himself.[4] Philostratus speaks of *krateres* set up from which the thirsty ones drew.[5] The metaphorical use of the word comes very near to the concrete facts: a storage vessel in which liquids are mixed and from which they are drawn.

The mixing is emphasized in a passage in Plato.[6] When the wine is mixed and the symposion begins one prays to the gods, and this is done here too. Dionysos who was the god of the wine and Hephaistos who alloys metals are quite naturally first honored with a prayer on such an occasion. This is clear.[7] Further

[1] Pindar, Ol., vi, v. 154 f., *ἐσσὶ γὰρ ἄγγελος ὀρθός, ἠυκόμων σκυτάλα Μονσᾶν, γλυκὺς κρατὴρ ἀγαφθέγκτων ἀοιδᾶν.*

[2] Aristophanes, Acharnenses, v. 936 ff., *πάγχρηστον ἄγγος ἔσται κρατὴρ κακῶν.*

[3] Plutarch, de defectu orac., p. 421 A, *μύθων καὶ λόγων ἀναμεμιγμένων κρατὴρ ἐν μέσῳ πρόκειται.*

[4] Aeschylus, Agamemnon, v. 1397, *τοσῶνδε κρατῆρ' ἐν δόμοις κακῶν ὅδε πλήσας ἀραίων αὐτὸς ἐκπίνει μολών.*

[5] Philostratus, vita Apollonii, iv, 24, *λόγων τε κρατῆρες ἵσταντο καὶ ἠρύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ διψῶντες.*

[6] Plato, Philebus, p. 61 B f., *τοῖς δὴ θεοῖς, ὦ Πρώταρχε, εὐχόμενοι κεραννύωμεν, εἴτε Διόνυσος εἴτε Ἥφαιστος εἴθ' ὅστις θεῶν ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν εἴληχε τῆς συγκράσεως. ----- καὶ μὴν καθάπερ ἡμῖν οἰνοχόοις τισὶ παρεστᾶσι — κρῆναι, μέλιτος μὲν ἂν ἀπεικάζοι τις τὴν τῆς ἡδονῆς, τὴν δὲ τῆς φρονήσεως νηφαντικὴν καὶ ἄοινον αὐστηροῦ καὶ ὑγιεινοῦ τινος ὕδατος, ἃς προθυμητέον ὡς κάλλιστα συμμειγνύναι.*

[7] So Boyancé, Platon et le vin, Lettres d'humanité, 1951, p. 9.

Socrates mentions the springs which are at hand to them (they themselves being cup-bearers), pleasure and wisdom. This is simple. So too is another passage which treats of the creation of the living beings by the demiurge.[8] "Having said this he turned once more to the same mixing bowl wherein he had mixed and blended the soul of the universe, and poured into it what was left of the former ingredients, blending them this time in somewhat the same way, only no longer so pure as before, but second or third in degree of purity."

Professor Ziegler thinks that it is difficult to separate this passage from the great part played by the *krater* in the Orphic writings[9] and Professor Pfister asserts that Plato has taken this from Orphic sources.[10] This is not at all certain. Two Orphic poems with such a title are known, Κρατήρ and Ὁ μικρότερος κρατήρ. The titles do not prove anything of the contents. Plato knew the metaphorical use of the word; he had used it so earlier in the Philebus. If dependence on an Orphic source is to be proved, the proof must consist in the doctrine of the soul. Ὁ μικρότερος κρατήρ is quoted once only, by a Byzantine scholar, Joannes Diaconus Galenus. He adduces also some fragments.[11] The first one is fairly long and displays an explanation of the pagan gods which was familiar to the Byzantines: Hermes is the messenger who explains everything, the Nymphs are the water, Hephaistos the fire, Demeter the corn, etc. Another fragment contains the Stoic explanation of the various forms of the name of Zeus. This is a late elaboration and may be put to one side. The Κρατήρ is better attested,[12] mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, it must be earlier than the second part of the second century A.D. It is ascribed either to Orpheus or to Zopyrus of Heraclea (so also in Suidas). According to Servius, Orpheus had dedicated this poem to Musaeus. No fragment is preserved. However, Proclus says: "Plato men-

[8] Plato, Timaeus, p. 41 D, πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον κρατῆρα, ἐν ᾧ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ψυχὴν κεραννὺς ἔμισγεν, τὰ τῶν πρόσθεν ὑπόλοιπα κατεχεῖτο μίσγων πρόπον μέν τινα τὸν αὐτόν, ἀκήρατα δὲ οὐκέτι κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὡσαύτως, ἀλλὰ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα. Cornford's translation.

[9] In the Realencyklopädie der Altertumswiss., xviii, p. 211.

[10] Pfister, Die Autorität der göttlichen Offenbarung, Glauben und Wissen bei Platon, Würzburger Jahrbücher, ii, 1947, p. 181.

[11] Kern, Orphicorum fragmenta, 297 f., p. 309 ff.

[12] For the testimonia see Orph. fragm., p. 308.

tions in the Philebus the Hephaestiac *krater* and the Dionysiac *krater*, and Orpheus knows also the Dionysiac *krater* and places many others around the Sun's table." [13] These are evidently Neoplatonic speculations. The contents of the Κρατήρ are unknown, and this too must be put to one side.

In the myth of the travels of Thespesius in the Underworld Plutarch describes a great *krater*.[14] Three daemons are seated around it and mix three streams of various colors. This is the oracle of Nyx and Selene which has no fixed place, but occurs to men in dreams and images. It is added that Orpheus came unto this place when he sought for his wife, and as he did not remember rightly, he divulged false information among men. Such a description seems to be appropriate for a Κατάβασις εἰς Ἅιδου. An Orphic writing with this title is quoted by the Alexandrian scholar Epigenes, and thus Kern has placed the passage under this title as his fragment 294. But it is not at all likely that a passage, which criticizes Orpheus so severely and even accuses him of spreading false information among men, belongs to any Orphic writing.

However, the *krater* looms large in Orphic literature. The titles prove this but not more. Proclus has an important passage.[15] Speaking of the two principal gods, Nyx and Phanes, he attributes the life-producing *krater* to Nyx who, together with Phanes, brings forth every living thing from the invisible, likewise as the *krater* bears all souls of those in the world. The *krater* is said to be the source of the souls of all living beings. Arnobius, who speaks of the soul that flows in from living *krateres*,[16] seems to have taken this from a kindred source.

Here the reference to the mixing is not used; the *krater* is a storage vessel containing the life, the souls, or perhaps the soul-stuff, just like the *krater* at the symposium which contains the refreshing wine. This passage comes near to another in the Oracula

[13] Proclus, in Timaeum, p. 41 D; Orphic. fragm., 217.

[14] Plutarch, de sera num. vind., p. 566 B f.

[15] Proclus in Timaeum E, prooem. iii, p. 169 Diehl; Orphic. fragm. 104, *τὸν δὲ κρατῆρα τὸν ζῳογόνον τῇ Νυκτὶ τῇ πᾶσαν ἐκ τῶν ἀφανῶν παραγούσῃ ζωὴν μετὰ τοῦ Φάνητος, ὡς καὶ ὁ κρατὴρ πᾶσαν λοχεύει τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ψυχήν.*

[16] Arnobius, adv. nationes, ii, 25, *haecine est anima docta illa quam dicitis, immortalis, perfecta, divina, post deum principem rerum et post mentes geminas locum optinens quarum et affluens ex crateribus vivis? (mentes geminas: daemones et genios,* conjecit Klussmann).

Chaldaica.[17] In sophisticated language it speaks of "the band of the wonderful Eros who first, vested with the connecting fire sprang forth from the Father, in order to mix the *krateres* of the springs, holding forth the flower of fire." The passage speaks of a mixing, that is the preliminary to the gushing forth from the living *krateres*.[18]

A *krater* flanked by birds, doves or peacocks, is seen in some paintings, even in Christian paintings. E.g., in one of the Coemeterium Callisti[19] are in the upper field five blessed dead in the attitude of *orantes*, in the lower at each side a *krater*, doves sit on the rim and drink. The *krater* is not merely a decorative element, but has a symbolic sense. Certain sarcophagi show two opposed lions and between them a *krater* on which they lay their paws.[20] It would be worth while to enquire into these monuments; here it is not possible.

What has been set forth in the foregoing are but preliminaries to the most interesting problem, the interpretation of the only text preserved with the title Κρατήρ, the fourth Hermetic tract, Ἑρμοῦ πρὸς Τάτ, ὁ κρατήρ, ἢ μονάς. The title is double and is as usual taken from some particularities of the tract; it treats of the ascension of the soul to God, the One and the Good. The Monas

[17] Proclus in Parmenidem, p. 769. Cousin, ed. 2: W. Kroll, Oracula chaldaica (Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen, vi, 1895), p. 25,

δέσμῳ Ἔρωτος ἀγητοῦ, ὃς ἐκ νόου ἔκθορε πρῶτος
ἐσσάμενος περὶ (ms πυρι) πῦρ συνδέσμιον, ὄφρα κεράσσῃ
πηγαίους κρατῆρας ἐοῦ πυρὸς ἄνθος ἐπισχών.

Cf. Idem. Theol. Platonis, p. 318, 27 Portus, πηγαίους γοῦν κρατῆρας καὶ οἱ θεοὶ προεστήκασι τὰς πρωτουργοὺς τῶν μερικῶν αἰτίας.

[18] Only in a footnote I quote a passage in which the content of the *krater* is the opposite. As a proof that the soul, inebriated with the matter, is drawn downwards Macrobius, In somnium Scipionis, i, 12, 7, refers to the constellation *Krater: crater Liberi patris ille sidereus in regione inter Cancrum et Leonem locatus ebrietatem illic primum descensuris animis evenire silva influente significans, unde et comes ebrietatis oblivio illic animis incipit eam latenter obrepere.* Kern has introduced this passage as his fragment 241 with questionable right. The metaphor is clear, taken from the intoxication following the drinking of the wine in the *krater*. It is used to illustrate the well-known doctrine that when the soul is sent down into a new incarnation, she, when descending, is invested with the vices. According to the Hermetism this takes place in the spheres of the planets, here the name of the constellations and the consequences of drinking wine have called forth another version. Just as an intoxicated man forgets his human nature, so the soul, intoxicated by the constellation of the *Krater*, forgets his celestial nature.

[19] L. v. Sybel, Christliche Antike, i, 1906. Pl. iv to p. 256.

[20] Cumont, Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains, 1942, pp. 158 f. with fig. 26.

appears in §10 f. as the first principle, the *krater* is described in §4. The text reads: *κρατῆρα μέγαν πληρώσας τούτου (τοῦ νοῦ) κατέπεμψε, δοὺς κήρυκα, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ κηρύξαι ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καρδίαις τάδε· βάπτισον σεαυτὴν ἡ δυναμένη εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κρατῆρα, ἡ πιστεύουσα ὅτι ἀνελεύσῃ πρὸς τὸν καταπέμψαντα τὸν κρατῆρα, ἡ γνωρίζουσα ἐπὶ τί γέγονας. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν συνῆκαν τοῦ κηρύγματος καὶ ἐβαπτίσαντο τοῦ νοός, οὗτοι μετέσχον τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τέλειοι ἐγένοντο ἄνθρωποι, τὸν νοῦν δεξάμενοι.*

Father Festugière has tried to explain this text in a learned paper in this Review.[21] Rejecting his first thought of a metaphor similar to *οἴνῳ βαπτίζεσθαι*,[22] he finds the explanation in two Gnostic Coptic books, the Pistis Sophia and the book Jeû. (The reader who wishes to know it is asked to look up the paper in question.)

A translation runs: "He (God) filled a large *krater* with this (the Nous), sent it down and added a messenger, and enjoined him to announce this to the hearts of men: you who are able, baptize yourself in this *krater*, you who trust that you can ascend to Him who has sent down this *krater*, you who know to what you are born. All who understood the message and were baptized with the Nous, took part of the Wisdom and became complete men, having received the Nous." In a translation into a modern language the feminine forms and with them the reference to *ταῖς καρδίαις* vanish, and this is a serious impediment to a right understanding. A correct translation will be very clumsy and almost unreadable: "Thou heart that art able, immerse thyself in this *krater*, thou heart that trustest that thou will ascend to Him who has sent down this *krater*, thou heart that knowest to what thou art born."

What the word *καρδία*, heart, here means is shown by a passage in the same tract: "you will see (God's image) with the eyes of the heart," and by two in the seventh tract: "look up with the eyes of the heart," and "look with your heart on Him who wants

[21] A.-J. Festugière, Le baptême dans le Crater, Harvard Theol. Review, XXXI, 1938, pp. 1 ff. I have objected to his interpretation in my Gesch. d. griech. Religion, ii, p. 584, n. 1, but, my exposition not being satisfactory, I come back to the problem here.

[22] However, he seems now more inclined to such an understanding. In his review of my book, Revue des études grecques, lxiv, 1951, p. 485, he says: *M. N. préfère pour βάπτισον σεαυτήν le sens métaphorique "durchtränkt von etwas" à celui de "plonge-toi dans" que j'avais jadis adopté. Très possible, et j'avais moi-même longtemps hésité.*

to be seen."[23] καρδία may perhaps be rendered with the word "mind," although such a translation is not very good.

If the peculiar significance of the word καρδία in the quoted passages is taken into account, it appears that the words in the quoted text cannot possibly refer to a concrete action, a sacral, or a mystical. The metaphor belongs evidently to the spiritual sphere. If the words Nous and Mind are used in a translation, it would be logical for us to say that Nous and Mind are mixed in the *krater*,[24] but the word καρδία, heart, kept so much of its concrete significance to a Greek writer that he could not use such a phrase. He had to use another expression: βαπτίζειν, and this word too needs some explanation. Hearing the verb "baptize" we think of the baptismal act as we are wont to see it, the pouring out of water on the child's head. We should rather think of the old baptism, when the person who was to be baptized descended into the water. This is confirmed by the fact that the verb βάπτισον σεαυτήν is followed by εἰς with an accusative: immerse yourself into the *krater*. Βαπτίζειν has originally precisely this significance, e.g. Plutarch says of a purification: βάπτισον σεαυτὸν εἰς θάλασσαν.[25] In the passive the word signifies "to be wetted with," "imbued with," "oppressed by," even "to be drowned," οἴνῳ, ὕπνῳ, ὀφλήμασι βαπτίζεσθαι. Such is the sense of the word here, immersing itself in the *krater* filled with Nous the heart is wetted, imbued with Nous and is able to see God. Thus the following sentence reads: "all those who understood the message and were imbued with Nous got a part of the Wisdom and became complete men, having received Nous."

[23] Corp. Herm., iv, 11, ἦν ἀκριβῶς εἰ θεάσῃ καὶ νοήσεις τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς, vii, 1, ἀνβλέψατε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς καρδίας; vii, 2, ἀφορῶντες τῇ καρδίᾳ εἰς τὸν ὁραθῆναι θέλοντα. Nock points to I Clement, 36, 2, διὰ τούτου (Christus) ἠνεῴχθησαν ἡμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῆς καρδίας. Cf. Corp. Herm., 1, 31, δέξαι λογικὰς θυσίας ἁγνὰς ἀπὸ ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας πρὸς σὲ ἀνατεταμένης; cf. the Greek version of Asclepius, ii, p. 353 Nock-Festugière, χάριν σοι οἴδαμεν ψυχῇ πάσᾳ καὶ καρδίᾳ πρὸς σὲ ἀνατεταμένῃ. Cf. also phrases such as Plato, de rep., p. 533 D, τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα; this seems to be especially Platonic: Lucian, vitarum auctio, 18, τυφλὸς γὰρ εἶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. Corp. Herm., v, 2, νόησις γὰρ μόνη ὁρᾷ τὸ ἀφανές (God), ὡς καὶ αὐτὴ ἀφανὴς οὖσα. εἰ δύνασαι, τοῖς τοῦ νοῦ ὀφθαλμοῖς φανήσεται.

[24] Cf. Κόρη κόσμου, fragm. xxiii, 14, Nock-Festugière, iv, p. 4, πνεῦμα γὰρ ὅσον ἀρκετὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου λαβὼν καὶ νοερῶς τοῦτο πυρὶ μίξας ἀγνώστοις τισὶν ἑτέραις ὕλαις ἐκέρασε.

[25] Plutarch, de superstitione, p. 166 A.

# THE IDEOLOGY OF THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS *

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MODERN scholars commonly regard the "Letter of Aristeas" as a work typical of Jewish apologetics, aiming at self-defense and propaganda, and directed to the Greeks. Here are some instances illustrating this general view. In 1903 Friedländer wrote that the glorification of Judaism in the Letter was no more than self-defense, though "the book does not mention the antagonists of Judaism by name, nor does it admit that its intention is to refute direct attacks." [1] Stein sees in the Letter "a special kind of defense which practices diplomatic tactics," [2] and Tramontano also speaks of "an apologetic and propagandist tendency." [3] Vincent characterizes it as "a small apologetic novel written for the Egyptians" (i.e. the Greeks in Egypt).[4] Pfeiffer says: "This fanciful story of the origin of the Septuagint is merely a pretext for defending Judaism against its heathen denigrators, for extolling its nobility and reasonableness, and for striving to convert Greek speaking Gentiles to it." [5] Schürer classes the Letter with a special kind of literature, "Jewish propaganda in Pagan disguise," whose works are "directed to the pagan reader, in order to make propaganda for Judaism among the Gentiles." [6] Andrews, too, believes that the rôle of a Greek was assumed by Aristeas in order "to strengthen the force of the argument and commend it to non-Jewish readers." [7] And even Gutman, who rightly recog-

* The present study is based on my article published in Hebrew in Dinaburg Festschrift, Jerusalem, 1949, p. 83 sqq. For the preparation of the English text my thanks are due to my wife and to Dr. Hedva Ben-Israel.

[1] M. Friedländer, Gesch. d. jüdischen Apologetik, 1903, p. 97. The opinion that the Letter of Aristeas is intended for the pagan reader is repeated several times in the chapter devoted to this book, p. 84–104.

[2] M. Stein, The author of the Letter of Aristeas as a defender of Judaism, Zion, I, 1936, p. 132 (Hebrew).

[3] R. Tramontano, La Lettera di Aristea a Filocrate, 1931, p. 104, cf. p. 132.

[4] Vincent, Rev. Bibl., 17, 1908, p. 523.

[5] Pfeiffer, History of New Testament Times, 1949, p. 225.

[6] Schürer, Gesch. des jüdischen Volkes, III, p. 554; especially on the Letter of Aristeas: "All is directed in the first place towards the pagan readers," p. 610.

[7] Andrews in Charles' The Apocrypha and Pseudoepigrapha, 1923, II, p. 84.

nizes that the Letter sprang "from an inner need of the educated Jew," sees in it "a strong means for making Jewish propaganda in the Greek world." [8]

In this article an attempt will be made to prove that the Letter of Aristeas was not written with the aim of self-defense or propaganda, and was addressed not to Greek, but to Jewish readers. This suggestion is made on the following grounds:

1.) In the second century B.C.[9] Alexandrian Jewry attained a sufficient degree of Hellenization to create Jewish literature in Greek. The aim of this literature was to present Jewish subjects in an attractive Greek form (for instance, epic poetry or tragedies on Jewish themes) or to comment on some special item of Jewish history or religion. In this way the first representatives of Jewish Hellenistic literature, such as the historian Demetrios, the poet Philo, the tragedian Ezekiel and others made their appearance. There is no doubt that all those authors wrote for the Jewish public.[10] It is my opinion that other authors (like Artapanos and Aristobulos) also had the Jewish readers in mind, but this is not the place to discuss the tendencies of Alexandrian literature as a whole.[11] For our purpose here it is sufficient to state the fact that in the second century B.C. there were Jewish writers in Alexandria who wrote on Jewish subjects for the Jewish reader in Greek.

2.) Those who emphasize the apologetic tendency of Alexandrian literature often confuse the time limits and read the views of the

[8] J. Gutman, The origin and the main purpose of the Letter of Aristeas, Ha-Goren, 10, 1928 (Hebrew) p. 54; cf. p. 59: "The Letter of Aristeas contains clear and frank propaganda for the basic doctrines of Judaism and for spreading the knowledge of the Torah in the Greek world."

[9] On the date of the composition of the Letter of Aristeas see the article of Bickerman in ZNTW 29, 1930, p. 280 sqq. Bickerman dates the composition of the Letter in the second half of the second century B.C. He bases his suggestions on formal data (such as the greeting formula in the official letters, the names of certain court offices, etc.), familiar to scholars from the papyri of this period. This approach makes it possible to fix a date within a range of a few decades, and although it is always possible that new sources might change Bickerman's chronological framework by a number of years, it seems to me that on the whole it is justified. Cf. M. Hadas, Aristeas to Philocrates, 1951, pp. 9 sqq., 54.

[10] This is admitted also by other scholars. See Freudenthal, Alexander Polyhistor, 1875, p. 81 (on Demetrios); Schürer, III, p. 502 (on Ezekiel).

[11] I discuss this question in detail in my article: "Jewish apologetic literature reconsidered," Eos, 48, fasc. iii ("Symbolae Taubenschlag").

Roman period into the early Ptolemaic period. We have to bear in mind that Jewish defensive writings were an answer to anti-semitism, and we have no evidence of the existence of Greek antisemitic writings before the Hasmonaean period.[12] On the contrary, the first Greek writers who mentioned Jews (Theophrastos, Hekataios, Klearchos of Soloi) spoke of them without hate and even with a certain amount of favor and appreciation. Although antisemitic literature appears in the second century B.C., it only reaches its climax toward the end of the Hellenistic and the beginning of the Roman period. We cannot, therefore, attribute to a Jewish writer of the second century the psychology of Philo and Josephus. The time of the Letter of Aristeas is not that of "Against Apion."

3.) The same confusion appears with regard to the question of propaganda. Preaching the Torah is obviously one of the most effective methods of self-defense, but if in the second century there was not any need for defense, there was even less ground for a widespread Jewish propaganda among the Gentiles or for a direct attack on paganism. As for the glorification of Judaism, which is the main subject of the Letter, why should we see it as a means of propaganda? Is it not possible to imagine that this glorification of Judaism could have found more favor and understanding in the heart of a Jew, than it could have influenced a Greek reader?

4.) Schürer sees in the very Greek pseudonym of Aristeas a means of propaganda among the Gentiles. Against this opinion we may argue: first, is it not naïve to suppose, that an educated Greek would be taken in by so crude a fiction and believe that it was a genuine Greek praising Judaism so highly? [13] Secondly, the name of Aristeas was probably taken by the author out of the legend on the origin of the Septuagint, whence he also got other details, such as the invitation of seventy-two Elders, and the active participation of King Philadelphos in the whole enterprise. And since, to a certain Aristeas was ascribed a book "on

[12] Manetho was not a Greek, but an Egyptian priest. His antisemitism is limited to the discussion of one single topic, that of Exodus, which was of special interest to the Egyptians.

[13] For a detailed discussion of this question, see below.

the Jews," we may suppose that the author of the Letter thought it desirable to ascribe to him also his own work.[14] And, finally, the Greek pseudonym does not exclude the possibility that the book was intended for the Jewish reader; on the contrary, we shall see below, that it enforces this view.

5.) In paragraphs 130–169 the High Priest Eleazar discusses in detail the precepts of the Torah, and it is particularly in this exposition that scholars see apologetic tendencies. We have, however, to ask: why did the author, if he truly intended to preach the Torah to the Gentiles, choose, of all things, the difficult chapters of "animals chewing the cud and parting the hoof"? Did the Gentiles have a special interest in this question? It is well known that the precepts and customs which attracted their special attention and aroused their curiosity, were the circumcision, the Sabbath, the main holidays, and the prohibition of pork. But Eleazar passes over these questions in silence. In addition to the precepts dealing with forbidden foods, the High Priest touches only those on "Tefilin and Mesusot" (158–159). Neither of these questions could have been of any interest to the Gentiles.[15] It is hard to imagine that the Gentiles were such experts in the Torah that for them only these minor precepts required further clarification. Is it not possible that the Jewish reader himself felt the need for explanations of this kind? This question will also be discussed below.

These are the arguments which, in my opinion, justify the attempt to approach the Letter of Aristeas from a different point of view. We shall analyze this book on the assumption that it was composed not for propaganda among the Greeks, but for the

[14] Cf. Hadas, op. cit., p. 4.

[15] In order to keep the literary form which the author chose (a Jewish sage explaining the Torah to Aristeas, "the Greek") Eleazar opens his exposition with the idea of monotheism and criticizes paganism, but this is no more than an introduction; he soon passes to the main subject, that of clean and unclean animals, and discusses it at length. Speaking of his basic subject, the author pretends that his discussion is merely an example (143: χάριν δὲ ὑποδείγματος), but he forgets that it was not by accident that Eleazar touched the subject of unclean animals, but as an answer to a question of Aristeas "the Greek" (128–9). Aristeas had not enquired about the main doctrines of the Torah, but only asked for an explanation of this particular question, claiming that it arouses the curiosity of "most men" (τοὺς πολλούς). Tramontano's interpretation, that "most men" means the Gentiles, especially the Alexandrian Greeks, cannot be proved.

needs of the Jewish reader. If this approach raises problems which have not been noted as yet, or have not found their full explanation, we can claim that our method of research has been justified.

## I.

The author of the Letter of Aristeas [16] writes Greek; he assumes a Greek disguise; his attitude toward Greeks is full of respect and praise; his book testifies to his thorough familiarity with Greek culture. On the other hand, the Letter is an ardent panegyric upon Judaism; long and enthusiastic passages are devoted to the description of Jerusalem, of the Temple and the High Priest. The practical prescriptions of the Torah are regarded by the author as a "wall of iron" to separate the Jews from the Gentiles and to preserve the purity of Judaism. In this duality of the general outlook lies the riddle of Aristeas.

Let us start with the Greek aspect of the book. There are two sides to this problem: the extent to which the author was imbued with Greek culture; and, his attitude toward Greeks and Hellenism.

There is no doubt that the Hellenistic influence on the author was very strong. The language, the literary form and the philosophical ideas of the Letter — all testify to this. As far as the language is concerned, I shall limit myself to a few remarks, since this subject has already been amply dealt with.[17] The Letter is written in the ordinary Greek language of the Hellenistic period (κοινή) and shows no influence of Semitic tongues. In the narrative, and especially in the documents, one can trace the influence of the Ptolemaic offices. Many words, expressions and certain subtleties of style are repeated in the same form as in the papyri of that period. In the exposition of abstract ideas the style grows heavier, and the sentences turn into long complicated periods. The vocabulary is rich and the author skilfully uses numerous

[16] I call the book of Aristeas a "letter," as it is commonly styled so by scholars, though I am fully aware of the weight of the arguments put forth by Hadas (op. cit., p. 56) against the epistolary character of the book. The denomination "Letter" has in the present article only the aim of facilitating reference. — The numbers in brackets refer to the paragraphs of the Letter. My thanks are due to Professor M. Hadas for his kind permission to use his translation of the Letter.

[17] See Tramontano, p. 148 sqq.; H. G. Meecham, The letter of Aristeas, 1935.

synonyms in order to add color and interest to the narrative. We may say, on the whole, that the author has perfect mastery of the Greek language, official (Ptolemaic usage) as well as literary, and that he reveals a certain skill (talent would perhaps be too flattering a word) in narrating various events in a manner attractive to the reader.

The Hellenistic influence is also apparent in the literary form of the composition. Aristeas (we shall refer to the anonymous author of the Letter by this name, since it was obviously his own wish) included in his work a great variety of topics, accounts of historical events, documents, an account of a journey, discussions of abstract themes, etc. It is, indeed, difficult to find another literary work in ancient literature which would, on the whole, be like the Letter of Aristeas. Still, if we examine every part separately, we will have no difficulty in tracing its dependence on the standard works of Greek literature. Gutman justly remarked that the description of the journey to Palestine (83–120) is a kind of "Utopia," composed in the style of Euhemeros and other writers.[18] Even more evident is the Greek influence in that part of the Letter which is devoted to a Symposium (182–294). From Plato on, the form of the Symposium became a favorite among the authors of dialogues, although Plato's treatment of it, at once light and profound, was above the capacity of the epigoni. The dialogues composed in the Hellenistic period deal with insignificant topics or contain pedantic complicated discussions, in which all the participants in turn expressed their opinions on specific problems in philosophy, morals, etc.[19] The Symposium, described in the Letter, is of this latter kind, but it goes beyond all other Symposia in its lack of any poetic feeling, and in its dry didactic manner.[20] The documents, again, were clearly composed

[18] On the Greek "Utopias" see E. Rhode, Der griechische Roman[2], 1900, p. 210 sqq.; W. W. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilization[3], p. 112 sq.

[19] On the Dialogues in general and on the Symposia in particular see Hirzel, Der Dialog 1895, I, pp. 274, 341, 355; II, p. 141. It is worth noting that Hirzel does not mention at all the Symposium in the "Letter of Aristeas," although we have here a unique example of a Symposium composed in the Hellenistic period and preserved in full up to our time.

[20] The King asks each of the seventy-two Elders one question on an abstract subject and receives suitable answers. Aristeas felt that it was impossible to prolong the Symposium until all the seventy-two Elders gave their answers, and so he divided it into seven days. The classical dialogue demanded that the discussion

in the usual manner of the Ptolemaic offices.[21] If we add that the allegorical commentaries to the precepts of the Torah were also influenced by Hellenistic examples, we might rightly conclude that the book of Aristeas in all its parts followed the patterns of Greek literature.

And now a few words about the influence of Hellenism on the philosophical ideas of the book, a few words only, since here too others have anticipated me.[22] The ideas of Greek philosophers on ethics and politics are mainly reflected in the Symposium part of the Letter. Aristeas says, for instance, that the typical features of a good political ruler are love for mankind, generosity, magnanimity (*φιλανθρωπία*, *ἐπιείκεια*, *μακροθυμία*), and the basic moral qualities for every human being are prudence, justice, temperance (*σωφροσύνη*, *δικαιοσύνη*, *ἐγκράτεια*). All this is drawn from the ethics and politics of the contemporary philosophers, especially of the Stoics (cf. e.g. Diod. I, 70, 6). Again, it is in the true spirit of Greek philosophy that the questions are asked: "What is philosophy?" (256), "Which is the highest rule?" (221), "How he (sc. the King) might be beyond outbursts of wrath?" (253), "How may one avoid yielding to pride?" (262). When one of the Elders mentions the "Lawgivers" (240), he does not have Moses in mind (for, if he did, he would use the singular form), but the great political reformers of Greece, such as Solon, Lykourgos, etc. The high respect for the Law (*νόμος*), to which even kings had to submit (279), reflects the political views of the Greeks of the Classical period.[23] Other questions and answers

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should not last more than one day. Aristotle, however, had already divided his dialogues into several days, and Cicero followed his example. Cf. Hirzel, I, p. 299. As for the answers given in turn, the same method is applied by Plutarch in his "Symposium of seven sages," where the sages gave their answers to the questions put before them by Amasis, King of Egypt, one after the other in turn. But the literary talent of Plutarch is, of course, incomparably superior to that of Aristeas.

[21] In speaking of documents, I have in mind those which were obviously composed by Aristeas, like the memorandum of Demetrios to the King (29 sqq.), or the King's letter to Eleazar (35 sqq.). The edict of Philadelphos freeing the Jewish prisoners (22 sqq.) is now considered by some scholars as genuine. Cf. Wilken, Archiv für Papyrusforschung 12, 1937, 221 sqq.; Wilhelm, ibid., 14, 1941, 30 sqq.

[22] Cf. numerous notes in Wendland's edition of the Greek text and in the commentaries of Tramontano and Hadas.

[23] Of the Classical period only, since in the Hellenistic period the King himself became in a certain sense the source of the law. See Goodenough, The political philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship, Yale Class. Stud., I, 1928, p. 53, sqq.; Schubart,

obviously point to the political background of the Ptolemaic kingdom.[24] Occasionally a question sounds strange, coming from the King, and it seems obviously composed for the sake of an answer which sounds clearly like a quotation from a Greek work on ethics, or from one of the numerous books "on the Kingship" (περὶ βασιλείας) so widely known in the Hellenistic period.[25] Tramontano, in his commentary on the Letter, tries to stress the Jewish character of the questions and answers; yet all the parallel sentences enumerated by him, are drawn either from the later books of the Bible (Proverbs, Psalms, Daniel) or from the Apocrypha (Sirach, The Books of Maccabees, and especially The Wisdom of Solomon), all written in a period in which Jewish literature was already greatly influenced (directly or indirectly) by Hellenism. Tramontano's examples, therefore, do not prove anything. On the other hand, it is worth noting, that several passages in the Symposium have no counterpart at all in Jewish literature. There is little doubt, therefore, that the Greek ideas in the Symposium of Aristeas are drawn directly from the great stock of Hellenistic literature without Jewish intermediaries.

To sum up: Aristeas was a learned Jew who had a Greek education and was influenced by the Greek philosophical literature of that period. The attitude of a Jew of this kind toward Hellenism was naturally very favorable, and it will be important for our study to discuss this question in greater detail.

In speaking about Greek education, Aristeas uses two terms:

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Das hellenistische Königsideal nach Inschriften und Papyri, Arch. für Papyr. 12, 1937, p. 1 sqq.

[24] For instance, the questions on the attitude of the King toward different nations in his Kingdom (267), on the duties of the officials, and so on. Schwartz (in his article Hekataeos von Teos, Rheinisches Museum, 40, 1885, p. 258 sqq.) has already stressed the idea that the Letter reflects the official views of the Ptolemaic monarchy on the royal power. And, indeed, when we compare passages from the Symposium of Aristeas with Hekataeos' account on the way of life of the ancient Egyptian Kings (as a matter of fact, the Ptolemies are meant), and on their attitude toward the Kingdom and their subjects, we find several points of contact and parallel ideas (cf. Diod. I, 70 sqq.).

[25] Cf. e.g. the questions: How he might render due thanks to parents?" (238), "How he might avoid doing anything contrary to Law?" (240), "How he might obtain acceptance in a sojourn abroad?" (257), "Which is best for the people, that a commoner be set over them as king, or a king of royal descent?" (288). Cf. Andrews, p. 87, when he speaks about a compendium of "moral sayings" as a possible source for the discussions in the Symposium. Goodenough, in his study quoted above, often mentions works "on Kingship" published in the Hellenistic period.

παιδεία and καλοκἀγαθία,the first one meaning education in the widest sense of the word and the second designating the cultural ideal to which the élite of Greek society aspired.[26] These two notions are so deeply involved with the very conception of Hellenism that it is difficult to consider them apart from the Hellenistic background or to apply them to persons of another nation. Aristeas, however, uses these terms without any reservations when speaking not only about the Greeks (43.8) but also about the Jews; e.g. he refers to the High Priest Eleazar (3) as καλὸς κἀγαθός ("the true gentleman") and he makes him use the very same word for describing the seventy-two Elders. The characterization given by Aristeas for these Elders is especially remarkable: "Eleazar then selected men most excellent and of outstanding scholarship," who had a thorough knowledge not only of Jewish literature, "but had bestowed no slight study on that of the Greeks also" (121). They were therefore, he adds, best suited for the purpose of the delegation to the King, being great experts in the Torah and at the same time well prepared to answer the King's questions and to hold speeches. "They zealously cultivated the quality of the mean (and that is the best course) and eschewing a crude and uncouth disposition, they likewise avoided conceit and the assumption of superiority over others." Whom did Aristeas have in mind, when speaking about the "crude and uncouth disposition of mind"? Stein, in his article already mentioned (p. 134) thinks that Aristeas meant the "Hasidim." His opinion is essentially sound, if we understand the term "Hasidim" in its widest sense. Aristeas does not oppose any particular sect, but a certain state of mind which existed mostly in Palestine, but not only there. It seems as if Aristeas here anticipated the skeptic smile of his enlightened readers, members of the Hellenized Jewish community in Alexandria, who might ask: Those Jews coming from Palestine, what have they in common with modern culture? And he answers: A great deal, since they

[26] Aristeas does not explain precisely the meaning of the term παιδεία, and it may be suggested that he meant ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, i.e. "the general education." Cf. Philo, Vita Mosis I, 23. The term παιδεία, however, has a wider sense as well, viz. the creation of a harmonious personality by developing equally the faculties of the body and the soul. Cf. J. Stenzel, Plato der Erzieher, 1928, p. 120 sqq. On the term παιδεία in its historical development see W. Jaeger, Paideia, I–III.

differ basically from their "crude and uncouth" brethren; they have acquired a Greek education and can therefore be received among the καλοὶ κἀγαθοί.

Aristeas' favorable attitude toward the ideals of Greek education explains his attitude to the Greeks themselves, as it appears in the Letter. It is an attitude of exceptional favor, such as could be shown to the most faithful friends of the Jews. Many scholars see in this attitude a typical apologetic feature; in order to extol Judaism in the eyes of the Greeks, it was necessary to emphasize the high respect paid to Jews by the most important rulers of the Hellenic world.[27] Now, it is true that such apologetic features do exist in Jewish literature (e.g. in Josephus), but an examination of the picture drawn by Aristeas shows clearly that, in this case, the alleged "apologetics" grew far beyond the needs of propaganda among the Greeks. The gifts sent to Jerusalem were the most precious ones in the Royal Treasury, and the King himself supervised their selection (80, 81); when the Elders arrived in Alexandria, the King ordered their immediate reception, although he usually received people only on the fifth day after their arrival, and the envoys of kings and cities had to wait thirty days before they were presented to the King (174–175). The day of the Elders' arrival was fixed as a holiday for the whole of King Philadelphos' reign (180); in his letter to Eleazar the King acknowledged that the highest of gods (i.e. the God of Israel) preserved his kingdom in peace and honor (37); seven times did the King prostrate himself before the rolls of the Torah and he wept with joy (177–178). Did not the author here offend the taste of the pagan reader? Was he so simple as to think that such propaganda would be successful among educated Greeks? No, such a thought was indeed far from his mind. His intention was to influence the Jewish, not the Greek, reader. There is nothing that makes you love people more than the knowledge that they love you. Aristeas' reader was expected to deduce from the King's and the courtiers' affectionate attitude toward Jews that he himself ought to develop an affection toward Greeks.

[27] Cf. Thackeray Translation of the Letter of Aristeas, JQR 15, p. 338, and Sterling Tracy, III, Macc. and Arist., Yale Class. Stud. I, p. 250.

To bring the Jews nearer to the Greeks and their culture — this was the aim of Aristeas.

But what if the Jews say: Those Greeks are pagans; how can we approach them? Aristeas is ready with his answer. Very cautiously he tries to impress upon his readers the idea that no abyss separates Judaism from Hellenism. With some good will on both sides, it would be easy to bridge the two worlds. Has he not already shown that the Greek King and his courtiers had fully acknowledged the superior power of the God of Israel and lowered their heads before the Law of Moses? How significant does it now appear that the author puts on a Greek disguise: the glorification of the Jewish religion, coming from a Jew, would not have made the necessary impression upon the reader, while its praise by Aristeas, supposedly a Greek of high standing, may arouse much hope in the hearts of the Jews. They are approaching us, let us go and meet them! But how could a Jew come near to the pagan without betraying his monotheism? Aristeas, well versed as he was in Greek philosophy, had no difficulty in dissipating these doubts. The time of naïve polytheism had passed long since. Educated Greeks knew that the gods were merely symbols, and from the beginning of the Hellenistic era Euhemeros' theory gained force. According to this theory, the gods were kings and heroes of ancient times whose various actions for the benefit of mankind earned them the hono. due to gods. Aristeas too sees paganism through the eyes of Euhemeros. The idols made of wood and stone are "images of persons who made discoveries useful in life" (135), and it would obviously be foolish to worship those idols. Aristeas makes the High Priest Eleazar use three times the words "foolishness" and "ignorance" in characterizing idolatry (135/8: *κενὸν καὶ μάταιον, ἀνόητοι, ματαίως*). He obviously abstains from using sharper words, and no attempt is made to emphasize the moral and religious depravity of paganism (as we find it, e.g. in the "Wisdom of Solomon," XIV, 22, 99). Now, ignorance is not an unforgivable sin, it is merely an error which can be corrected through rational explanation. And, indeed, the elect among the Greeks understand this. In one of the most important passages in the Letter, Aristeas tells the King: "God, the creator of all things, whom they (sc. the Jews) worship, is

He, whom all men worship (ὃν καὶ πάντες), and we too, Your Majesty, though we address him differently, as Zeus" (16). Here is the final answer given to the wavering Jewish reader: Know that the Greeks in fact worship the same Highest God, and the difference lies only in names. Thus Aristeas found the synthesis between Judaism and Hellenism, and the way was now open, he must have hoped, for the two nations to approach one another — for peace and mutual benefit.

This, however, was not so simple, and Aristeas knew it. In Greek education, in close intercourse with Greek society, in the breaking of the boundaries between Judaism and Hellenism, in all these lay serious danger for the Jews, the danger of losing their national character and assimilation among other nations. Did Aristeas really aspire to this? Certainly not. He was not a preacher of assimilation. On the contrary, his intention was to preserve Judaism against any alien attack, and he was ready even to surround it with an iron wall. How could these apparently conflicting notions be reconciled?

## II.

The answer lies in the analysis of Aristeas' conception of Judaism. Let us start with a detailed examination of the Symposium. We have already seen that the answers of the seventy-two Elders were composed in the spirit of Greek philosophy. What part then does Judaism play in the Symposium? The strange thing is that in all the seventy-two answers there is no trace of any Jewish elements. The Torah, Moses, Sinai, the Jewish nation, Palestine — none of these appears. Moreover, there is not, in all the answers, a single hint at the nationality of the Elders. It is as if bodyless souls and not human beings were conversing with the King. Now, it is clear that Aristeas could not have intended to conceal the nationality of the Elders. The Symposium is an integral part of the story about the invitation of the Elders from Palestine for the purpose of translating the Torah. Why then this perplexing anonymity? Surely, the author did not simply forget to mention anything really Jewish! Moreover, it is clear that the dialogues with the Elders of Jerusalem were supposed

to reveal to the King (and in fact to the reader) the very essence of Judaism. If they do not fulfill this purpose, what else were they meant for? There is, indeed, no doubt that the author did his best to make them serve this aim, for he included the word "God" in *all* the seventy-two answers. Sometimes God is mentioned at the beginning of an answer, but usually at the end and, occasionally, even in an additional sentence.[28] Now, if we also say that these answers were composed in the true spirit of Greek philosophy (which was, at this time, conceived as the universal human wisdom), then the basic idea which the author was trying to prove in the Symposium will be clear: *Judaism is a combination of a universal philosophy with the idea of monotheism.* Here, then, lies the explanation for the author's strange silence concerning the national and historical aspects of Judaism. These aspects of Judaism appear elsewhere in the Letter, but it was obviously the wish of the author that at the moment of the climax, when the Elders appeared before the King and preached their faith and doctrines, all trifling and casual historical events should be banished from the reader's mind in order that Judaism should reveal itself in its ideal purity.

This ideal aspect of Judaism, as it appears in the Symposium, gives us the key to the understanding of the general outlook, the "Weltanschauung," of the author.[29] Ideal Judaism is pure monotheism, in no way at variance with the common Greek conception of the world. One's attitude to one's neighbor, family life, questions of state and power — all remain the same, but above them rises in all its splendor the crowning idea of One God. I have, however, said that in the Symposium Aristeas draws a picture of *ideal Judaism.* He could not, of course, stay on this high level, in a vacuum so to speak, for a long time. In the first place, he was writing a literary work and not a philosophical treatise and, besides, he was, after all, only human, and he definitely belonged to a certain nation and to a certain period. He could not ignore matters of daily life for he had to provide his readers

[28] Cf. e.g. the paragraphs 194, 199, 205–9, 219 sqq. This additional sentence can easily be omitted, and the sense of the answer would not suffer.

[29] The ideas expressed in the Symposium, in particular the idea concerning the power of God over the King, is reflected also in other parts of the book. Cf. e.g. 17, 20, 132 sqq.

with answers to some of the problems which troubled them. Those problems naturally concerned the Law, the Land and the people of Israel. It is easy to understand why Aristeas occasionally departed from the ideal Judaism of the Symposium, though we may safely say that nowhere does he actually contradict himself.

The Torah is of special interest to Aristeas. In a sense the Torah is his main subject, since his narrative is entirely based on the story of how the Torah was translated into Greek. In Aristeas' time there existed already several commentaries on the Torah. The Jewish philosopher Aristobulos wrote under Ptolemy VI Philometor an exegetic work on the Torah, and Aristeas (144) refers with some anger to a particular comment of Aristobulos on some precepts of the Torah which did not agree with his own opinion.[30] The main passage devoted to the Torah in the Letter is the dissertation of the High Priest Eleazar on forbidden food (128 sqq.). Let us note the way in which Eleazar explains the practical prescriptions of the Law of Moses. He sees the regulations concerning forbidden food as mere allegories given by Moses in a symbolic manner (*τροπολογῶν*, 150). The practical prescriptions of the Torah, he explains, have a profound meaning (*λόγον βαθύν*, 143). For instance, the prescription concerning animals "chewing the cud and parting the hoof" was not chosen at random or by some caprice of the mind, but with a view to truth and as "a token of right reason" (*καὶ σημείωσιν ὀρθοῦ λόγου*, 161). And what is this right reason? The fowls which may be eaten are pure since they feed on grain, whereas the forbidden birds are birds of prey, and the Lawgiver called them "unclean" to indicate that those who accept the prescriptions of the Torah have to practice righteousness and not to use violence against others (147–148). It is permissible to eat animals chewing the cud and parting the hoof since this "is a symbol to discriminate in each of our actions with a view to what is right" (150). Again, each animal chewing the cud and parting the hoof is a symbol of memory, "for the chewing of the cud is nothing else than recalling life and its subsistence" (154). These examples, as

[30] It is quite clear that Aristeas had in mind a *Jewish* commentator, because it cannot be supposed that in the second century B.C. the Gentiles wrote commentaries on the Torah.

well as many others, show how in his commentaries Aristeas used the allegorical method, of which the first representative, as far as we know, was the Jewish philosopher Aristobulos, and which reached its climax in Philo's writings about one hundred and fifty years after Aristeas. This is not the place for a detailed analysis of the allegorical commentary, and only those of its qualities will be mentioned here which may help us to understand Aristeas.[31]

The prescriptions of the Torah are nothing but symbols. Behind the simple words of the Torah a profound meaning is concealed which can be revealed only by an allegorical interpretation. This meaning is of a moral-religious nature and is open to any man who strives to acquire a profound philosophical knowledge; it is devoid of any specific Jewish feature. The allegorical commentary turns the Torah into a universal doctrine which may be accepted by every enlightened mind, especially by those who had a Greek education. Aristeas, indeed, was still a long way from the time when the obvious sense of the Torah was completely rejected in order to retain the concealed sense only, a tendency which provoked strong opposition on the side of such a religious Jew as Philo. Aristeas stands at the beginning of this long process; his commentary is of a symbolical rather than of an allegorical nature.[32] The tendency to universalism is, however, beyond doubt, since the endeavor to attain moral perfection and the attempt to bear in mind the moral commandments with the help of external symbols are principles of ethics and logical thought in the widest sense of the word. Here we confront again the ideas of the Symposium, but this time the direction is indicated which the Torah is to follow, if it is to attain "Ideal Judaism." The Torah ought to be imbued with the general human (i.e. Greek) philosophy and the teaching of Moses ought to adapt itself to the school of Plato. Then, and only then, could Moses be accepted by the educated Alexandrian Jew as a Lawgiver and Prophet.

A Torah with a universal teaching ought to be written in a universal language. Hence the importance of the translation,

[31] For the allegorical method of Biblical commentaries see Wolfson, Philo, I, p. 115 sqq.

[32] Cf. E. Stein, Die allegorische Exegese des Philo aus Alexandrien. 1929, p. 10 sqq.

which is Aristeas' main subject in the Letter. He makes every effort to prove the sanctity of the translation. In the first place, the translation receives the sanction of Palestinian Jewry. The seventy-two Elders were selected "six from each tribe" (32, 46, 51), i.e. they represented the whole Jewish nation; they were selected by the High Priest who was the head of the nation, and the entire people (τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος) was assembled in order to approve their selection (42, 45, 46). In the second place the translation received the approval of Alexandrian Jewry. The "Jewish masses" (τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων) were assembled at the place where the translation was accomplished and listened to its first reading (308). "When the rolls had been read, the priests and the elders of the translators and some of the corporate body (πολίτευμα) and the leaders of the people rose and said: Inasmuch as the translation has been well and piously made and is in every respect accurate, it is right that it should remain in its present form and that no revision of any sort take place" (310). After this solemn announcement no wonder that an imprecation was pronounced upon those who would try to introduce any additions or alterations into the text of the translation (311), and so the translation received its third and most sublime sanction — the sanction from Heaven. The imprecation lent to the translation the nature of a Revelation, like that on Mount Sinai, and not unjustly do modern commentators point out the corresponding places in the Bible, such as Num. 4,2; 13,1; 28,15 sqq. And, finally, we have to mention the fourth sanction, that of the King and the Court; indeed, the whole work of translation was initiated by the King and his Greek courtiers, and after its execution the King prostrated himself before the sacred rolls and gave orders that they should be watched with the greatest care. Aristeas especially emphasizes that the Septuagint is the only authentic translation. Twice before had attempts been made to publish the Holy Law in Greek, but those who dared to do so did not receive God's sanction and were even severely punished by him (312 sqq.). More important, however, than the polemics against other translators is the attempt at criticism of the original Hebrew text of the Bible. In the report, allegedly prepared for Philadelphos by the head of the library, Demetrios,

the Holy Scriptures are referred to in the following words (30): "It happens that they are written in Hebrew characters and in the Hebrew tongue, and they have been committed to writing somewhat carelessly and not adequately." [33] Aristeas, we assume, had in mind those copies of the Hebrew Torah which were in use in Alexandria. The Elders must have brought from Jerusalem the authentic text of the Torah, since otherwise the very basis of the Septuagint would fall to pieces. But Jerusalem was far away and Aristeas, after all, wrote for the Alexandrian reader. And, since the Septuagint with all the sanctions mentioned above undoubtedly reflected God's Law in all its purity and truth, it had obviously some advantage over the Hebrew Torah, the text of which had been preserved in Alexandria only in imperfect copies. And, indeed, we find in one place in the Letter (57) an explicit preference for the text of the Septuagint over that of the original Hebrew.[34] We ought not lightly to dismiss this point, for it is not a mere philological remark of a scholar studying the texts with cool objectivity, but an echo of a lively debate within the Alexandrian community. Fortunately, one passage of the contemporary Hellenistic literature was preserved revealing an opposite opinion. The grandson of Sirach, in the introduction to his translation of his grandfather's Book of Wisdom, emphasizes the fact that the translation cannot reflect with precision the original

[33] This sentence is not sufficiently clear and it was interpreted in different ways. "The Torah is written in Hebrew characters and in the Hebrew tongue, *ἀμελέστερον δέ, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὑπάρχει, σεσήμανται.*" The word *σεσήμανται* serves as a bone of contention between scholars. Some explain it as referring to the Greek translations of the Torah (cf. Thackeray, JQR 15, p. 347, and Andrews, p. 98). But the verb *σημαίνω*, as used in the Letter, never does mean "translation." "To translate" is rendered always by the word *ἑρμηνεύω*, while the usual meaning of *σημαίνω* is *to mark, to note, to indicate*; and since the subject is a book, it is quite clear that the meaning of the word is *to mark in writing*, i.e. *to write, to copy*, etc. And, indeed, it was understood in this way by Wendland (Kautzsch, Apokr. und Pseudoepigr., II, p. 7), L. Mendelssohn (Aristeae epistolae initium, 1897, p. 35), Tramontano (p. 51), Hadas (p. 111) and Bickerman, Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume, 1950, p. 156, note 25.

[34] In describing the golden table sent by the King to Jerusalem as a sacred gift Aristeas emphasizes that the table was made of *pure gold* and not only *overlaid* with gold. Since the pious King strove to keep in full the precepts of the Torah concerning the sacred utensils intended for use in the Temple (cf. 55/56 on the measurements of the table), it is clear that here too he followed the Torah, yet not the Hebrew text which speaks only of a table overlaid with gold (Ex. 25, 24; 37, 11), but the Greek text which speaks of a table made of pure gold (LXX, Ex. 25, 22: *καὶ ποιήσεις τράπεζαν χρυσῆν χρυσίου καθαροῦ*).

Hebrew text, and adds that this statement applies not only to Sirach's works, but to all the books of the Bible. This was probably the opinion of the newly arrived emigrants from Palestine who had not yet become acclimatized in Alexandria, and this opinion contradicted that of native Alexandrian Jews who saw in the Septuagint the perfect version of the Bible. Aristeas expressed the opinion of the native Alexandrian Jews. It is as if he transferred the holiness of Mount Sinai from the original Hebrew text to the Greek translation.

What is the nature and the purpose of this idealization of the Septuagint? It seems clear that it was not prompted merely by the wish to prove to Alexandrian Jews that the Septuagint was faithful to the original text, since for that purpose it would not have been necessary to show its advantage over the Hebrew text.[35] If we note that the day the translation was accomplished was fixed in Alexandria as a holiday for generations to come (Philo, Vita Mosis II, 41), it would appear that Alexandrian Jewry attached exceptional importance to this achievement and that Aristeas merely expressed a prevalent opinion. Aristeas himself gives us the key for understanding the true value of the translation, in the letter of Philadelphos to Eleazar: "Now, since we desire to show favour (*χαρίζεσθαι*) to these (i.e. to the Egyptian Jews) and to all the Jews in the world and to their posterity, we have resolved that your Law should be translated into Greek" (38). Why should the permission to translate the Bible be granted as a special favor? The reason is this: from now on the Jews would not need the Hebrew language any more, even in their religious service; Greek, the language of the King and the State, would serve for all their spiritual needs, and there would be no language barrier between the Jews and the Greeks. The Greeks would be able to read the Bible and to realize how sublime are its ideas and how high is the culture of the Jewish nation, chosen

[35] In Andrew's opinion, Aristeas tried to defend the translation against the attacks of the critics and also wished to "secure appreciation for it in the minds of the Greek readers." I do not think that the interest of the Greek reader in the Torah of the Jews was so profound that the question of the preciseness of the translation could have had a decisive significance for him. It is advisable to take care not to exaggerate the extent to which the Septuagint was known among the Greeks. (See H. B. Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, 2nd ed., 1914, p. 22.)

by God to receive the Torah. The Torah in Greek would serve the Jews as a ticket of admission into the world of Greek culture and Greek society. To use a modern parallel, the Septuagint fulfilled in Aristeas' opinion a rôle similar to that which Mendelssohn's translation of the Bible into German did in the eyes of the enlightened Jews of the eighteenth century: it served as a first step toward the intellectual emancipation of the Jews.

Aristeas devoted much space in his book to the account of his journey to Jerusalem (83–120). Those chapters present, as is well known, a "hard nut" to the scholars. My intention here is not to examine the various scholarly opinions on the subject, since that would require a special work of research. There is, however, one point in Aristeas' story which has not been sufficiently stressed by scholars, although it was lightly noted in the commentary of Tramontano and in the study of Vincent. I mean Aristeas' dependence on the Biblical tradition.

Jerusalem, says Aristeas, lies in the center of the Land of Judaea (83); this is not exact, but it is the version of the Jewish legend from the time of Ezekiel on.[36] The Temple, according to Aristeas (84), stands on the top of a mountain. This is certainly not true, but it corresponds to a well known prophecy in Isaiah 2, 2 and Micah 4,1. Aristeas, like Ezekiel (47,1), thinks that the edifice "looks towards the east" (88) and again like Ezekiel (ib.), he speaks about a "natural spring within the Temple area" (89).[37] The remark about the apparel of the priests when ascending the altar ("the priests were swathed in coats of fine linen reaching to the ankles") (87), is based on Exodus 20,26 ("Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon"), and it may be suggested that the detailed description of the High Priest in all his glory (96–99) is no more than an elaboration of Exodus 28 and 39, and not a true image of the High Priest at the time of the Second Temple.[38] The description of Palestine (107 sqq.) is not a true

[36] Vincent, Rev. Bibl. 17, p. 530.

[37] Vincent, ibid. 18, p. 559. ("There never was a natural spring within the Temple area.")

[38] If we compare this description in the Letter with that in LXX Ex. 28 and 39, we shall easily realize that almost all the details concerning the attire of the High Priest, as given by Aristeas, have their parallels in the Biblical story.

account of Judaea under the Hasmonaeans, but of "Palaestina Biblica," as Tramontano (p. 112) rightly notes. The reference to the overflowing of the Jordan in summer is not an error made by the Egyptian writer and induced by the overflowing of the Nile at that season, but an expansion of the remark in Joshua 3,15 ("for Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest"). The statement that the area of the Land of Israel is about 60 million arourai (a figure out of all proportion) is based on the figure of 600,000 Jews of the Exodus (Ex. 12,37,Num. 11,21), every one of whom, Aristeas fancied, received a lot of *100 arourai*.[39] These are examples, which were noted by commentators on the Letter who had no special intention of stressing Aristeas' dependence on the Biblical tradition; so it is possible, that a detailed examination would reveal more examples of this kind. The very fact that Aristeas divides the seventy-two Elders equally among the twelve tribes without any reservation or comment, shows that he lived in the atmosphere of Biblical tradition, and that every piece of information about the land, town and Temple which came from the Holy Scriptures was in his eyes an historical truth. We have therefore to introduce an important correction into the common opinion of scholars about chapters 83–120. It may be that the very idea of the journey to Palestine and its description as a land of an ideal order were influenced by the Greek utopias, as Gutman thinks. It may be that single pieces of information were taken from an account of a Greek or Jewish tourist, as Wendland and Vincent suggest. Yet the main point is, that the author's intention was to describe Palestine as a Holy Land, where the sublime ideal of Biblical theocracy was fulfilled. For Aristeas, the most important part of the Holy Land is Jerusalem, and of Jerusalem the Temple, its High Priest and its religious service. Here is the center of his interest and for it the whole account was written. The Jewish reader in Alexandria

[39] This last figure had a special meaning for the Egyptian Jews. Foreign soldiers, including Jews, received from the Ptolemaic authorities lots of 30, 40, 80, and even 100 *arourai* (Egyptian *aroura* equals 2.756 sq. meters). A lot of 100 arourai was the biggest lot a soldier could ever get. Soldiers who received 100 arourai constituted a kind of aristocracy within the Ptolemaic army. Aristeas, in giving to every one of the 600,000 Jews of the Exodus the maximum number of arourai, expressed by this the dream of every Jewish soldier of Egypt to belong to this aristocracy.

learned from those chapters that his heart should be attracted not by Hasmonaean Palestine, with its wars and political aspirations, but by the pure and beautiful Holy Land, as it appears in the pages of the Holy Scriptures — the Land of Israel as an integral part of the Torah of Israel.

Thus we return to the Torah, the main subject of Aristeas' book, the Torah which contains a treasure of sublime religious and moral ideas, understandable to every man, and which appeared at last in a civilized dress having been translated into Greek.[40] Aristeas is convinced that the Torah alone opens before the Jews of Egypt the gate to the world of culture and authority, because the Torah reveals to the Greeks the advantage of the Jews over the barbarians. And if this is so, the Jew ought to keep the practical prescriptions of the Torah with utmost care and punctuality, *even if it leads to the isolation of the Jews from other nations*. This idea is expressed by Aristeas in the following sentence: "When therefore our Lawgiver, equipped by God for insight into all things, had surveyed each particular, he fenced us about with impregnable palisades and with walls of iron (ἀδιακόποις χάραξι καὶ σιδηροῖς τείχεσιν) to the end that we should mingle in no way with any of the other nations, remaining pure in body and in spirit" (139). How very strange it is to hear this sentence coming from Aristeas, of all people! Is this not a negation of the author's favorable attitude toward the Greek world? At first sight it is, but if we call to mind the ideology of Aristeas as a whole, we shall easily be convinced that this strong statement is more fitting here than in any other book. I have already noted above the *duality* which is a basic feature of Aristeas' outlook. He never preached assimilation among the Greeks. On the contrary, the whole Letter is nothing if not a eulogy to Judaism. Not assimilation among the Gentiles is Aristeas' aspiration, but the opening of the world of culture before Jews and Judaism. He would like to enter this world with his head held high, like a man who has mighty cultural values in his possession, open to everyone, Jews and Gentiles alike. But these values are inseparably connected with the Torah. The estrangement of the Jew from the Torah would cause only a degradation

[40] Cf. Philo, Vita Mosis II, 26 sqq.

of his cultural value in the eyes of the Gentiles. Hence the strong emphasis on the idea of isolation, in which we can already hear one of the leading ideas of Philo: The Jewish nation is a nation of priests whose destiny is to preserve, for the advantage of the whole world, the eternal truth of the religion of One God (de Abrah. 98; Vita Mosis I, 149).

## III.

I have already mentioned more than once the question of the reading public of the Letter. We have now to deal with this question in greater detail.

The Jewish community in Alexandria was established as early as the time of the first Ptolemies. Mercenary soldiers and prisoners of war, freed from slavery, were, it seems, its first members. The big and busy city attracted emigrants from all sides, and the Jewish community developed at a rapid pace. The growth of the community brought with it great wealth, since trade with other countries, ship-building, financial affairs played a considerable part in the life of the capital. At the beginning of the second century B.C. the Jewish community in Alexandria (and perhaps the Jewish population in other parts of Egypt) reached a degree of development which permitted it to appear on the political stage as an active factor. The young King Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.) and his wife Kleopatra appointed Jews as military commanders and civil servants, admitted Jews to the Court and settled a Jewish army on Onias' Land; it is even possible that some Alexandrian Jews were attached to the Macedonian garrison which guarded the capital.[41] The increase in wealth and influence brought the Jews a rise in their standard of life and drew them nearer to the Greeks. The Greek language dominated the Jewish community and became the language of culture and of everyday life alike. Educated Jews read Plato and Homer and probably sent their sons to the gymnasium, and if a writer appeared among the Jews, he would certainly write his books in Greek. The wealthy Jews gradually approached the circles of

[41] For further details concerning the economic position of the Jewish community in Alexandria and the Jewish army in Egypt, cf. Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum, vol. I, pp. 10 sqq., 48 sqq.

Greek intelligentsia, and some of them acquired Alexandrian citizenship. This approach toward Greek society and culture did not, however, break their ties with the ancestral tradition. There were, of course, individual cases of Jews abandoning their religion,[42] but on the whole, they remained faithful to their ancestral laws and customs. This is quite natural, since, first and foremost, the Jewish community in Alexandria consisted not only of wealthy people, but of poor elements as well, and these workers, craftsmen, small merchants, and so on, came nowhere near the Greeks and their culture. Secondly, the ties with Palestine, which was imbued with the spirit of ancestral tradition, remained strong during the whole Hellenistic period. And, thirdly, the Jewish community in Alexandria was an official body, recognized by the Government and authorized to live according to the ancestral laws of the Jews, and no one would question these rights. The Jewish Diaspora in Egypt, with its various communities and numerous synagogues, which numbered among its members soldiers and officers, officials and courtiers, bankers and merchants, was not likely to drive its members to desertion. The rich Jews in Alexandria were not inclined toward assimilation; numerous ties — social, juridical and cultural — attached them to their nation and religion. On the other hand, it was quite impossible, living among the Greeks and enjoying the splendid works of Greek literature, to be enclosed in a spiritual Ghetto and to be reckoned among the "barbarians." It was a necessity to find a compromise, a synthesis, which would permit a Jew to remain a Jew and, at the same time, to belong to the elect society of the Greeks, the bearers of world culture.

This duality, which we have already recognized as the basic feature of the Letter, is therefore a characteristic not of Aristeas alone, but of the whole class to which he belonged. Several details in the Letter would be more understandable, if we considered them as the views of a whole class and not as the private opinion of an individual writer. How typical is, e.g., the yearning of the Jewish aristocracy in Alexandria for Greek education, or the desire to belong to the *καλοὶ κἀγαθοί*. These were the same Jews who sent their sons to the Greek gymnasium and were anxious to

[42] Cf. Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum, vol. I, No. 127.

acquire Alexandrian citizenship and against whom the Greek reaction turned fiercely at the beginning of the Roman period.[43] How typical of these circles is the cautious attitude toward Greek religion and the desire to convince themselves, that "we all have one Father and one God has created us." Did not the Septuagint give the translation of Exodus 22,27 as follows: "Thou shalt not revile the gods," translating the Hebrew form "Elohim" as *gods*, and not as *God*? The Jewish writer Artapanos, who was probably a contemporary of Aristeas, did not even hesitate to attribute to Abraham, Jacob and Moses the foundation of the pagan cults of Egypt. How well did Aristeas understand the spirit of the rich Jews in Alexandria, who wavered between two worlds, when he depicted the highly favorable attitude of the Ptolemaic King and his courtiers toward the Jews. Not without purpose did Aristeas turn the pagan King almost into a proselyte, and make him and his courtiers bow their heads before the Law of Moses. Such a description helped the readers to overcome the feelings of inferiority which gnawed at the heart of the rich Alexandrian Jews at the sight of the brilliant life of the Court and of the Greek "polis," so close to them, but, alas, so remote. It is clear, on the other hand, that Aristeas' opinion on the Jews and the Jewish religion also reflects the views of the same social group, since they recur several times in Alexandrian literature from Aristobulos to Philo. We meet Aristeas' views on the Septuagint again about one hundred and fifty years later in Philo (Vita Mosis II,41) when the latter speaks of the holiday fixed in honor of the translation. Philo adds that, in this feast, not only Jews, but also Gentiles participated, and here again we recognize Aristeas' views that the Torah does not separate the Jews from the Greeks but, on the contrary, brings the two nations together. The Torah, of course, was to be interpreted in an allegorical spirit, in order that it might fulfill its rôle as a means of synthesis. This was the opinion of Aristeas as well as of Philo and of many other Alexandrian commentators. As for the other national values of Judaism, Aristeas did not esteem them highly, and here too, certainly, he was in accord with his own class. The Hebrew language, for instance, exists for Aristeas only as

[43] Cf. ibid. p. 64 sqq.

the language of the Torah; and, indeed, it ceases to be necessary at the moment, when the translation was accomplished. It is worth noting that all the Alexandrian writers (including Philo) quote the Torah from its Greek translation and do not use the original text at all. Palestine is, in Aristeas' eyes, only the Holy Land, and there, too, he probably expresses the opinion current among the rich Alexandrian Jews.[44] And, indeed, what did those rich Jews, who were so strongly attracted by the Greeks and their culture, have in common with the Hasmonaeans, who fought stubbornly against the Greeks and Hellenism? Could their attitude toward the Hasmonaeans be other than that of reservation, or even of open hostility?

We would not, however, do justice to Aristeas, if we estimated him only as a representative of a certain social group and not as a personality who fights for his own ideals. Scholars have rightly noted that the Letter contains some sort of propaganda, but they were mistaken in assuming that this propaganda was directed to the Gentiles. It was directed to the Jews. His preaching has two tendencies, corresponding to the duality of the cultural ideals of Aristeas and of his social class. In the first place, he turns against those Jews who have not yet freed themselves from the "lack of education and stubbornness" of their Palestinian brethren. Those were people who continued to use the Hebrew Torah in spite of the fact that it was preserved in Alexandria only in bad copies (30), and who commented on the Torah in a rational way and not in the fashion of allegorical interpretation (144). For the benefit of these Jews in particular, Aristeas exerted himself to depict the pleasant characters of the King and his courtiers and to emphasize the advantages of a Greek education. The idea of turning the seventy-two Elders, and even the High Priest himself, into a symbol of Greek education, was an especially powerful propagandist idea. The aim of Aristeas' propaganda was to bring up a generation of educated Jews, who would be able to live on equal terms with the Greek citizens of Alexandria and possibly to occupy high positions in the Ptolemaic army, at the court of the

[44] But surely not the opinion of the whole of the Egyptian Jewry, who more than once showed their sympathy for the Hasmonaean Palestine; cf. Corpus Papyr. Jud., I, p. 46 sqq.

King and in the administration of the realm. On the other hand, Aristeas' propaganda was directed against those who intended, if not to reject Judaism (those were few) then at least, to ease the burden of the practical prescriptions of the Torah. Aristeas' care was well timed, for it is easy to imagine that within the Hellenized society of the rich Alexandrian Jews the neglect of some of the prescriptions was gradually spreading. This neglect, however, had not yet touched the main customs of Israel — circumcision, the keeping of the Sabbath and abstention from eating pork. Aristeas, therefore, does not see any need to defend those prescriptions. But it is quite natural that the educated Alexandrian Jew was inclined to neglect the prescriptions of minor importance, not because he spurned the ancestral customs, but simply because he did not understand their purpose. There was a vital need to explain to these Jews the purpose of the prescriptions concerning "the parting of the hoof" and the "cloven foot," as well as those concerning the "tefilin" and "mesusot." If young people were allowed to neglect the minor prescriptions, they were bound to end by neglecting the major ones as well, and thus to undermine the very foundations of the Jewish communities in Alexandria and in the whole of Egypt. The famous sentence of Aristeas about the "impregnable palisades" and "walls of iron" (139) sounds as a warning against the danger hidden in the future: Do not neglect the Torah, do not reject it, for it is your only true stronghold!

To sum up: The Letter of Aristeas appears as a typical work of Alexandrian Jewry in the Ptolemaic period. There is no unity in the book, as there was no unity either in the heart of the author or in the social class to which he belonged. Like most of the people who strive to be "citizens of two worlds," Aristeas did not actually belong to either of them. It is difficult to class Aristeas among the nationalist Jews; his Judaism is pale and colorless, imbued with foreign influences, and it lacks the inner warmth of a genuine national feeling. Even less does Aristeas belong to the Hellenes. His aspirations to be like the Greeks only emphasize the great distance between him and the καλοὶ κἀγαθοί of the true Greek intelligentsia. But it is precisely this duality which is most important for the scholar studying the cultural

aspect of Hellenistic Jewry. Aristeas wanted to write history, but in fact he depicted his own times. Aristeas' small book serves as one of the most important sources for the study of the spirit of Alexandrian Jewry in the Ptolemaic period, when anti-semitism had not yet blocked the way to cultural emancipation before the Egyptian Jew, and the life of the Jewish nation in Egypt appeared to be tranquil and safe.

# SOME CHRISTOLOGICAL INTERPOLATIONS IN THE EZRA-APOCALYPSE

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The text of the Ezra-Apocalypse as it has been received in virtually all versions is the work of Christian scribes who must be held responsible not only for the careless manner in which they have transmitted it but also for many readings introduced in it in order to make them conform to teachings expressive of fundamental Christian doctrines. This often involves the changing of the author's words and ideas so as to convey meanings other than those which he, as a loyal Jew, could possibly have given. Reprehensible as such a practice is, it was, nevertheless, indulged in, not infrequently, by pious hands engaged in the copying of sacred texts. The text of the Ezra-Apocalypse was often the victim of such treatment. It is for this reason that even its Syriac version, now existing in only one manuscript, the sole survivor of many that were in circulation, was badly transmitted. This version, perhaps more than any other of the older versions, approaches what the text was in the tongue in which it was originally written. It bears ample evidence of what seems to be faulty editing but which represents, not infrequently, actually also the result of faulty copying. This is true of virtually all other ancient versions of the Ezra-Apocalypse.

Richard Kabisch, G. H. Box, C. C. Torrey and others have endeavored to make out a case for the theory that the Ezra-Apocalypse, as it is now extant, represents a compilation made by a Redactor (R) from a variety of sources. Interesting, even fascinating, as this theory appears to be, it thus far has not been sustained by convincing proof. It seems to be patterned upon the documentary theory which the modern school of biblical criticism applied so effectively and with a good measure of successful results to the text of the early portions of the Hebrew Scriptures. The advocates of a like theory for the Ezra-Apocalypse do not seem to have gone far enough at least in one important matter. They and others have not given adequate consideration to the proba-

bility of Christian interpolations in the text. Some interpolations of such character have been recognized for what they are, phrases and passages expressive of distinctly Christian doctrine, but without any consideration of their bearing on the content of the work as a whole or on the possibility of their having disrupted the text as it originally stood. They certainly testify to the now well-recognized fact that from the earliest times Christian influence exerted itself, perhaps gradually but nonetheless effectively, upon the text of the Ezra-Apocalypse as upon other of the early Jewish apocalyptic writings now extant. This is not at all surprising. After all, were it not for the interest of the Christian Church in this branch of Jewish literature it might have disappeared altogether. Whatever the reason, early Judaism was certainly not concerned with its preservation.[1]

The Christological character of some interpolated passages which found their way into the text of the Ezra-Apocalypse at an early date, has not always been recognized as such even by men whose scholarship and integrity cannot be questioned. Yet so eminent an authority as the late Canon G. H. Box, whose translations of and commentaries on the book [2] are among the finest in the literature, while discussing the messianic terminology of the Ezra-Apocalypse, rightly declares that the "explicit titles of the Messiah as God's Son occurs in our Book for the first time in Jewish literature, with the exception of I Enoch ch. 2, which, however, is probably an interpolation." [3] One wonders why Canon Box did not recognize the fact that the Enoch passage, which he mentions, is no exception but represents one of many passages of a like character in early Jewish apocalyptic writings, in which the messiah is spoken of as "My Son." They represent striking examples of the liberties which Christian copyists took, no doubt with pious intentions, and are found in scattered passages in many an early Jewish apocalyptic work.[4] In the Ezra-Apocalypse alone

[1] See J. Bloch, On the Apocalyptic in Judaism, Philadelphia, 1952, p. 1 f.

[2] The Ezra-Apocalypse, London, 1912; 'IV Ezra,' in Charles' Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, Oxford, 1913, v. 2, pp. 542–624 and The Apocalypse of Ezra, London, 1918 (Translations of Early Documents. Series I).

[3] See his Ezra-Apocalypse, London, 1912, p. LIV.

[4] A study of those and like passages, with a view to determining the element of interpolation detectible in each one of them and the respective reason for it, is a desideratum.

there are six such instances in which this title occurs. They are 7.28,29; 13.32,37,52 and 14.9. An examination of these passages in the Ezra-Apocalypse in which the designation of the messiah as the Son of God occurs as presented in most of the ancient versions of the book reveals startling results. Remove the words interpolated and the Jewishness of the passages becomes obvious and their meaning is neither altered nor obscured.

The first two instances 7.28 and 29 belong to a portion of the book which those who maintain for it composite authorship have attributed to the Redactor (R), whose work, according to Canon Box, was done "about 120" A.D., or "it may have been (done) somewhat later." [5] Be this as it may. The final form of the Ezra-Apocalypse in its original text did not last very long; at an early date it made way for translations into several languages, and all of those which are now extant, were evidently made by Christian hands. In all likelihood, such translators of the basic text upon which the old versions rest, do not seem to have hesitated to modify the text in conformity with reverently cherished religious convictions. If, however, one were to accept the view of those who claim composite authorship for the Ezra-Apocalypse the responsibility for the interpolations should, perhaps, be credited to the achievements of the Redactor (R). Why should one assume that, unlike I Enoch and other early Jewish apocalyptic writings which were subjected to Christian interpolation, the Ezra-Apocalypse escaped this kind of treatment? There is no good reason to warrant such an assumption. Virtually all the early Jewish apocalyptic writings, for the transmission of which Judaism is now grateful to the Christian Church, have gone through such treatment at the hands of pious Christians.

The two passages in question (7.28–29) are reproduced here with the interpolations underscored. Eliminate the underscored words and nothing is left of the Christological character so often claimed for them. Beginning with the preceding verse, here they are: —

7.27. And whosoever is delivered from the predicted evils will see my wonders. 28. For *my son* the messiah will be revealed together with

[5] Op. cit., p. XXXIII.

those who are with him and he will gladden those who survive thirty years. 29. And it will be, after those years, that *my son* the messiah will die, and all in whom there is human breath.

Christian hands must no doubt be held responsible for the insertion of the underlined words in what was originally a Jewishly conceived and Jewishly executed apocalyptic work. A Christian hand is certainly to be credited with having substituted in the Latin manuscripts, the reading *filius meus Iesus* for the words "the messiah" in verse 28. This must have happened at an early date for the reading was already current in the days of St. Ambrose of Milan who lived in the fourth century and who quotes the passage in which it appears.[6] This did not happen to the early manuscripts of the other ancient versions of the Ezra-Apocalypse. The Ethiopic version reads "my Messiah" while the Arabic [2] has only "the Messiah" and the Armenian presents "the Messiah of God." It is evident then that most of the ancient versions do not have "my son." Canon Box is certainly correct in his opinion that the insertion of the name "Iesus" in the Latin manuscripts presents "an obvious Christian correction." [7] This being the case why should not the words "my son" be explained in a like manner? Those words, too, are obvious Christian corrections. The words "my son the Messiah" appear again in verse 29. Even though the idea of sonship is attached here to the messiah it is not derived from its original text. In this instance, too, the versions vary. The entire verse does not exist in the Arabic and Armenian versions. The Ethiopic offers "my servant the Messiah" the original reading of which may have been "my messiah." It is not unlikely that here the Ethiopic text reflects the reading in the original work. It nevertheless seems to have Jewish authority behind it. For it may have been derived from the servant idea in Isaiah 53 "my servant." [8] This being the case, it is not unlikely that the

[6] See The Fourth Book of Ezra, ed. by Robert L. Bensly, Cambridge, 1895, p. XXXIV.

[7] Box, op. cit., p. 114.

[8] J. M. Drummond (The Jewish Messiah, London, 1877, p. 285 ff.) advanced the view that *son* as applied to the Messiah was derived from παῖς = servant. For full discussion of the subject see W. Bousset, Kyrios Christos, Goettingen, 1921, p. 53 ff., in which he revises his previously stated conclusions. For the treatment of the Son of Man in rabbinical literature see Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, etc., Münich, 1922, v. 1, pp. 485–487, 956–959 and v. 3, 1926,

original of "my son," in 13.32, by the way, a passage which Canon Box [9] considers an interpolation, might have been "my servant." This is equally valid for "my son" in verse 37. The appearance of "my son" in 13.52 evokes again a measure of doubt as to whether it is derived from the original text. Canon Box [10] considers a portion of the passage an interpolation, and the entire verse has been rendered differently in virtually all the ancient versions. And as for the presence of "my son" in 14.9 the Arabic [2] like the Ethiopic, in several similar cases, offers instead "my servant." All this should suffice to show the precariousness of hastily assuming that the Ezra-Apocalypse contains references to the Messiah as God's son.

All the instances in the Ezra-Apocalypse in which the word *son* was substituted for that of *servant* are calculated to give the entire book a decidedly definite Christian color. Whatever messianic meaning it originally carried it was certainly remote from that it received in Christian theology. Under the influence of the Septuagint of Isaiah, chapter 53, a Christian hand rendered the Aramaic or Hebrew *ebed* by the equivalent of the Greek υἱός μου and not by that of παῖς μου. In that way the word *son* was substituted for *servant*. An examination of the variants in all the extant ancient versions of the passages in which the phrase occurs seems to lead to no other conclusion than that its background is the Greek παῖς θεοῦ which conveys the meaning of Servant of God as employed in Isaiah, chapter 53. In the words of B. Violet, "a Christian never converted υἱός into παῖς but very easily the other way around." [11] Thus in all these instances the reading

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pp. 15–22. A thorough study of the Son of Man in the Ezra-Apocalypse is presented in H. Gressmann's Der Messias, Göttingen, 1929, pp. 379–389. Useful is C. H. Kraeling, Anthropos and Son of Man, New York, 1927 and Erik Sjöberg, "Ben Adam und Bar Anaš im Hebräischen und Aramäischen," in Acta Orientalia, 1950, v. 21, pp. 57–65 and 91–107. For stimulating discussions of more recent views see Erik Sjöberg, Der Menschensohn im Äthiopischen Henochbuch, Lund, 1946, pp. 133–139. Cf. H. J. Schoeps, Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums, Tübingen, 1949, pp. 78–82 and H. H. Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic, London, 1944.

[9] Op. cit., p. 294.

[10] Ibid., p. 300.

[11] "Niemals hätte ein Christ υἱός in παῖς verwandelt, aber sehr leicht umgekehrt." See his Die Apocalypsen des Esra und des Baruch in deutscher Gestalt, Berlin, 1924, p. 74 f.

should be the equivalent of *ebed* implying that the "son of man" is God's servant.

A. von Gall [12] is fully convinced that the Ezra-Apocalypse contained no doctrine of Messiah. Such references to Messiah as it does contain present readings which take the place of what, in all likelihood, were originally "son of man" representing a recasting by later hands of that phrase.[13] No, not the Messiah is here the subject but "the son of man" in its true meaning which, in Aramaic, is the equivalent of "man." On the other hand *Ben Adam* "son of man," which occurs so often in Ezekiel, is the standing Hebrew phrase by which the prophet describes himself. It was Hans Lietzmann,[14] who, some sixty years ago, demonstrated convincingly, on philological grounds, that the phrase "son of man" as a title did not exist and could not well exist, because in the early days of Christianity it was used in a sense other than that suggested in Christian theology of a later day; it simply means *man*.[15] In the New Testament, the phrase "son of man" represents the figure of Daniel's vision (ch. 7.13 ff.) taken individually and identified with the messiah coming to judgment.[16] In virtually all passages in the Ezra-Apocalypse in which the phrase "my son, the messiah" appears, the reference is expressly to the pre-existent 'son of man' even though he is identified with the messiah. Certainly in the Ezra-Apocalypse in 14.9 the phrase cannot concern itself with the messiah since he is in the company of Ezra. His appearance at so early a date would make the event a rather premature occurrence. On the other hand in 7.28–29, the reference is to the messiah who dies, and since "my son" is textually

[12] See his *βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ*, Heidelberg, 1926, p. 387.

[13] In learned quarters it is generally accepted that the phrase "son of man" is an Aramaic expression *Bar ňaša* or *Bar enaša*, rendered in the Greek Gospels by *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. It found its way into the language of the Christian Church. The correct rendering of the Aramaic phrase is *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*. Cf. Dan. 7.13 and see J. Wellhausen, Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, Berlin, 1899, v. 6, p. 196 and A. von Gall, op. cit., p. 409 ff.

[14] See his Der Menschensohn; ein Beitrag zur neutestamentlichen Theologie, Freiburg i. Breisgau und Leipzig, 1896.

[15] W. Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter, ed. H. Gressmann, Tübingen, 1926, pp. 262–268.

[16] See Matthew 26.63 f., Mark 14.61 ff. and Luke 22.69 f. George F. Moore (Judaism, Cambridge, 1927, v. 2, p. 336) says that "it is not likely that the discovery of the Messiah in Daniel's 'son of man' was original with the followers of Jesus or with himself."

questionable there is good reason to assume that even here the text was considerably altered by a Christian hand.[17] Incidentally, it is in these passages that reference is first made to a dying messiah. Judaism teaches that a human being, even if he were the Messiah, cannot live forever in this world. The Ezra-Apocalypse (7.28–29) therefore fixes the span of life of the messiah as four hundred years. But in the Syriac version the text is manifestly altered, no doubt, by a Christian hand. Instead of four hundred years it reads *thirty years*, thus harmonizing it with the genealogical account of Jesus in Luke 3.23–38.

The Christological interpolations in the Ezra-Apocalypse which were discussed here are all found in extant Latin manuscripts of the book. There is, however, one significant passage interpolated within the body of a verse (12.32), which, while found in the manuscripts of all extant Oriental versions, is utterly absent from every one of the known manuscripts of the Latin text of the Apocalypse. Incidentally, its Latin text is the most widespread of all ancient versions. The verse in question, with the interpolated passage bracketted reads: —

> This is the messiah whom the Most High has kept until the end [of days, who will spring up from the seed of David, and he will come and talk] unto them; and he will reprove them for their ungodliness and will rebuke them for their baseness, and he will place in order before them their iniquities.

At first glance one sees in the interpolated passages, i.e., the bracketted portion of the verse, an echo of the well-known reference to the Davidic descent of the Messiah in Jewish liturgy, especially in the fifteenth of the Eighteen Benedictions (Et Zemaḥ David Abdeka Meherah Taẓmiaḥ: cf. Jer. 33.15, Ezek. 29.21 and Zech. 3.8 and 6.12) which is messianic in character. This in itself would lend no Christian color to it were it not for the fact that the words following the brackets "with them; and . . . reprove them . . ." call for some connecting reference to the ungodless in what preceded. Instead, it injects in the midst of the verse the mixed representation of the pre-existent yet born Messiah with that of the earthly Messiah. It is not unlikely that,

[17] See A. von Gall, op. cit., p. 417.

in an effort to Christianize the Ezra-Apocalypse, a Christian hand inserted the bracketted clause in 12.32 and thus attempted to harmonize the concept of the transcendental Messiah (Dan. 7.13–14) with that of the earthly Messiah, the Root of David, whose task as a spiritual Messiah is to prepare for the Kingdom of God.[18] W. O. E. Oesterley [19] is right in declaring that "it is most improbable that the transcendental Messiah and the earthly Messiah should be spoken of together in this way in a Jewish writing." In so doing the interpolator intended thereby to give 'Scriptural' support to the distinctly Christian doctrine expressed in Revelation 5.5 and 22.16, in which the original Jewish belief in a transcendental and an earthly Messiah "coalesce through the Christian doctrine of the dual nature of Christ." [20]

All the interpolations in the Ezra-Apocalypse which are considered here are decidedly Christological in character and the motive of the interpolator in each instance is obvious: the Christianization of an early Jewish apocalypse with a view to make possible the drawing upon it for corroborative evidence in support of basic Christian doctrines, authority for which is often sought in Scriptural and related works. No doubt other interpolations, too, have found their way into the text of the Ezra-Apocalypse. For this reason, too, the first two (1 and 2) and the last two (15 and 16) chapters have become part of the Latin texts of the Ezra-Apocalypse. Careful study of the text and versions of the book will surely yield other interpolations as well. Considerable caution is required in the use of their readings for the proper understanding of the early Jewish apocalyptic and other teachings they transmit. While the present writer assumes the substantial unity of the book he is nevertheless not altogether unmindful of the importance of the bringing about a settlement of the question as to whether or not the Ezra-Apocalypse is a book of composite authorship. The solution of this problem certainly has a definite bearing on the rôle the Ezra-Apocalypse plays in Jewish history and literature.

[18] See Joseph Klausner, The Messianic Idea in Israel, New York, 1955, p. 383 ff.
[19] See his II Esdras, London, 1933, p. 141.
[20] Ibid.

# PAPYRUS BODMER II ($P^{66}$) AND JOHN 8, 25

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The importance of Papyrus Bodmer II, to be designated $P^{66}$ for textual studies can scarcely be overlooked, even in an age accustomed to startling discoveries in the biblical field. The scholarly world is indebted to Professor Victor Martin for prompt publication,[1] and it is to be hoped that a facsimile will follow.

The partial codex contains John 1, 1–14, 26 with one lacuna of four leaves comprising 6, 11–36; it dates from ca. 200 according to the editor who has the support of Mlle. B. van Regemorter.[2] Thus it is placed a good century earlier than the other witnesses which contain a complete text of John, i.e., B and S. Professor Martin conservatively states that it will furnish a new basis for the study of the text of John, especially with relation to the Chester Beatty Papyrus.[3]

Since the publication is a transcription with only three plates, we are dependent upon the editor for his evaluation of certain features of the MS, particularly for an analysis of the script. This point is crucial for our understanding of the numerous corrections which appear.[4] There remain 108 leaves of the codex, but it is estimated to have contained 146 in its original form.[5] It is noteworthy, of course, that it is in codex form, another piece of evidence which further strengthens the view that the codex had a much earlier origin and more diffuse provenance than was once thought.

[1] Victor Martin, Papyrus Bodmer II: Evangile de Jean, chap. 1–14 (Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1956). An excellent study of the text of $P^{66}$ by M.-E. Boismard appeared in RB LXIV, 1957, 363–398, too late to be considered here.

[2] Ibid., p. 12 f.

[3] Ibid., p. 7.

[4] The editor counts more than 150 errors due to inattention. Corrections have been made in several ways: by cancelling the letter(s), usually with a dot placed over the letter (and enclosing the series in parentheses), or by erasure; additions are made by squeezing the letters into the same line, or by supralinear or marginal additions. Ibid., pp. 30 ff.

[5] Ibid., p. 11. B. M. Metzger in "106 Precious Pages: A description and evaluation of a newly discovered important manuscript of St. John's Gospel," The Living Church, CXXXIV (Feb. 24, 1957), 9, reports that some lost portions of the manuscript have appeared.

Pending further investigation of the MS itself and its witness to the text of John, some remarks may be made with regard to one notable reading. John 8, 25 has long been noted as a *crux interpretum* because of the difficulty of making sense out of the phrase τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν either in or out of its context. Rudolf Bultmann sums it up with the observation that the text is problematical as the helplessness of the exegetes and the proposed conjectures show; he is perceptive in stating that "the text must be corrupt" and then concludes his discussion with a *non liquet*.[6]

The ingenuity which commentators have applied to this phrase is remarkable, yet it indicates the precariousness of emending a defective text. Taken at face value, the marginal reading in RSV is a better handling of the Greek, but the adopted reading gives better sense though it is not strictly derived from Greek.[7] $P^{66}$ furnishes a reading which, if adopted, demonstrates that the latter was nearer the truth, even though the former was better scholarship!

In 8, 25 $P^{66}$ reads: και ελεγον αυτω συ τις ει ειπεν αυτοις ο $\overline{\text{ις}}$ ειπον υμιν την αρχην οτι και λαλω υμιν. The addition which throws a flood of light on this passage is the phrase ειπον υμιν. The insurmountable difficulty felt by every commentator since Chrysostom is thereby alleviated.

While this reading provides good Greek with a distinctive Johannine flavor and makes sense in the context, it is nevertheless true that the two words in question are a marginal correction. The sign ./. is found after and above $\overline{\text{ις}}$ with the corresponding ./. with the additional words in the margin. Whether or not this fact impeaches the authenticity of the reading is a question which remains to be answered.

Martin is quite certain that the marginal corrections are to be attributed to the original scribe. He writes:

> En tout cas rien n'oblige à les attribuer à une autre main. On a même souvent l'impression — à vrai dire ce n'est qu'une impres-

[6] Rudolf Bultmann, Das Evangelium des Johannes (Göttingen, 1950), pp. 266, 268.

[7] The adopted reading, "Even what I told you from the beginning," is inadmissible from the standpoint of the Greek: the present tense of λαλῶ forbids it; the marginal reading is "Why do I speak to you at all?"

> sion — que la correction a été apportée immédiatement après la faute.

And he adds that the marginal and interlinear corrections are in a script identical to that of the text except for height.[8] Were this an isolated case of omission, judgment with regard to the relationship of the original scribe to the corrections would be less certain. Such, however, is not the case:

> Toutefois, s'il est bon calligraphe, il n'est pas très attentif à copier son modèle et se rend coupable de très fréquentes omissions, lettres, syllabes, mots isolés, groupes de mots. On en relève presque à toutes les pages et souvent plusieurs dans une même page. Leur abondance incite à les attribuer à l'inattention du scribe plutôt qu'à des défectuosités du modèl equ'il copie.[9]

A check of the corrections in $P^{66}$ introduced by the sign ./. reveals that in every other case the correction has some support in the tradition.[10] In the majority of cases, the reading supplied in the margin is universally attested, and in some cases the text is meaningless without the addition.[11] Only in 8, 25 is there no trace in the tradition. The probability is strong, then, that these two words (*ειπον υμιν*) stood in the text from which $P^{66}$ was copied. In any case, they do provide us with a variant which is worthy of consideration.

It is clear that early commentators and versions, like their modern counterparts, were trying to make the best of a defective

[8] Op. cit., p. 31.

[9] Op. cit., p. 30; cf. Metzger's remarks, op. cit., 10: "At the same time, because the scribe has been at pains to correct his initial carelessness, we have, paradoxically, a firmer assurance, than would be the case in a document without corrections, that the completed work represents a tolerably correct copy of the exemplar from which it was made. Furthermore, the presence here and there in the text of small crochet-shaped marks (which ancient scribes would sometimes put at the end of a line in order to make the right hand margin come out even) suggests that the scribe copied his exemplar quite mechanically, even to the extent of carrying over these marks though they might fall at positions other than at the ends of lines in the Bodmer manuscript." Cf. also n. 4 above.

[10] Corrections are indicated by ./. at the following points: 14.11 (3,17), 16.16 (3,31), 23.5 (4,39), 39.14 (6,40), 41.11 (6,54), 42.8 (6,60), 43.2 (6,64), 49.21 (7,37), 54.13 (8,25), 63.6 (9,18), 65.6 (9,30), 66.9 (9,39), 68.13 (10,10), 73.2 (10,36), 74.16 (11,5), 75.3 (11,7), 80.12 (11,41), 99.4 (13,16), 105.16 (14,12); in addition, ./. appears at 2.18 (1,14) with nothing corresponding in the margin, nor is anything missing.

[11] E.g., 14.11 (3, 17), 23.5 (4,39), 39.14 (6,40), 41.11 (6,54), etc.

text. Neither Latin nor Syriac offer substantial aid in understanding the phrase; the former rests in part on an ambiguity available only to Latin, and is not supported by the case of ἀρχήν or by the context; [12] the latter gives a literal rendering without regard to the preceding question.[13] The early commentators apparently took τὴν ἀρχήν in a sense well known to them (=ὅλως),[14] but unattested for either John or the New Testament.

Modern commentators have only multiplied the conjectures. Blass-Debrunner draw on classical usage for one such: scil. ἐρωτᾷς, "You ask, why do I speak to you at all?" Debrunner adds the suggestion that we may understand: "(You reproach me,) that I speak with you at all?" [15] Others supply ἐγώ εἰμι: "I am from the beginning even what I tell you now," or "I am what I have told you from the beginning." [16] Bernard prefers: "Primarily (in essence), what I am telling you," i.e., "I am what my words reveal." [17] M. Black's view that the difficulty arises from a misunderstanding of Aramaic is not convincing.[18] Zahn is less ingenious: "That I speak to you at all!" taken as a rebuff.[19]

Bultmann points out the difficulties of the major proposals, but they need not be reviewed here. The central problem is the meaning of τὴν ἀρχήν. (Τὴν) ἀρχήν may mean "first of all, in the first place" (logical relationship), especially in negative sen-

[12] Initium/principium quod/qui/quia (et): under the influence of Rev. 21,6; 22,13, principium could be taken as nominative, "I am the beginning . . ."

[13] J. H. Bernard, The Gospel According to St. John (Scribner's, 1929), II, 302.

[14] Chrysostom apparently so understood it; cf. E. A. Abbott, Johannine Grammar (London, 1906), p. 143 and W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon (Chicago, 1957), s.v. ἀρχή, 1, b.

[15] Blass-Debrunner, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch (Neunte Auflage; Göttingen, 1954), § 300, 2.

[16] C. K. Barrett, The Gospel According to St. John (Macmillan, n.d.), p. 283 f.; Abbott, op. cit., p. 144; Hoskyns and Davey, The Fourth Gospel (London, 1947), p. 336.

[17] Bernard, op. cit., p. 301.

[18] An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (Oxford, 1946), pp. 172 ff. Black finds it necessary (1) to rearrange the text; (2) to correct a double mistranslation. (1) He removes 25a to a place before 28 (cf. Bultmann), and inserts the troublesome phrase into the protasis of 24b; (2) τὴν ἀρχήν is a mistranslation for רשאי "empowered," and ὅτι represents דן. Thus: "Unless you believe that I have full authority who speak to you, ye will die in your sins." This passage has apparently been deleted from the 2nd edition, 1954, though John 8,25 is still listed in the index.

[19] Theodor Zahn, Das Evangelium des Johannes (3. und 4. Auflage; Leipzig, 1912), p. 410.

tences,[20] or "at first, at the outset, at the beginning" (temporal sequence).[21] Other possibilities are excluded since it seems certain that the phrase must be taken adverbially, and that is the sense in which most commentators have taken it. In the light of the words supplied by $P^{66}$ this becomes even more certain.

It is improbable that John would have used this phrase in a way foreign to his usual understanding of ἀρχή.[22] Τὴν ἀρχήν = ὅλως does not suit either the context or the grammatical structure, with or without the words found in the Bodmer Papyrus.[23] It should, therefore, be assigned a temporal meaning. It is interesting to note that the LXX has πρώτην in Daniel 8, 1 where Θ has τὴν ἀρχήν. The scribe of $P^{66}$, moreover, has written πρώτην in John 2, 11 followed by ἀρχήν; the former has been suppressed in the usual manner.[24] It is possible that he wrote the sense of the passage and then corrected it to the word in his exemplar. In the LXX, τὴν ἀρχήν is used to translate בתחלה (Genesis 41, 21; 43, 18, 20; Daniel 9, 21; 8, 1 Θ). It is also worth noting that A reads ἀρχήν (without article) in Deuteronomy 33, 27 which translates קדם with an adverbial accusative; other MSS have the genitive (ἀρχῆς).

Thus there is good precedent for taking τὴν ἀρχήν as an adverbial accusative, and that meaning suits the context, especially in view of $P^{66}$. Bultmann provides an accurate analysis of the context: 8, 21–24 evokes the question following the threat, ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ πιστεύσητε κ.τ.λ. to which 28 f. provides the reply. The question he next raises is whether 25b–27 belongs to this context or is an intrusion.[25] This question may now be answered with some confidence: 25b does belong here and is a preliminary ambiguous reply in the form of a rebuff, so characteristic of Jesus

[20] For references, see Arndt and Gingrich, op. cit.

[21] Hdt. 2, 28; 8, 132; Thuc. 2, 74, 3; further, see Bultmann, op. cit., p. 267, n. 4; for numerous examples in the papyri, see Preisigke, Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden (Berlin, 1925), ad loc.

[22] In the fourth Gospel ἀρχή is used either of the creation (1,1,2; 8,44) or of the beginning of the public ministry (2,11; 6,64; 15,27; 16,4).

[23] In this case ὅτι must be taken interrogatively, an interpretation which is possible, but which finds little clear support in the New Testament; and which necessitates taking σὺ τίς εἶ as a contemptuous question. The latter leads Bultmann to conclude, and rightly, that 26 f. does not belong to this context.

[24] See n. 5.

[25] Bultmann, op. cit., pp. 264–67.

in John.[26] Although 26, 27 are parenthetical, they are not unlike the Johannine style. The initial reply, then, is a forerunner of the full answer (though still ambiguous to the Pharisees) provided in 28 f. as Bultmann thinks.

Adopting the reading of $P^{66}$, the text reads:

> (25) They said to him, "Who are you?" Jesus said to them, "I told you at the beginning what I am also telling you (now). I have much to say about you, etc."

The contrast is that of a former time, perhaps the beginning of the ministry, perhaps the beginning of the current encounter, with the present; one expects to find νῦν or ἄρτι in the second clause, but the contrast may be implied as elsewhere.[27]

Other points likewise become explicable. The present tense of λαλῶ is now understandable. The problem of taking ὅτι as an interrogative is avoided. It is used here as an indefinite relative. Ὅστις appears in the New Testament only in the nominative (all genders) and neuter accusative. In John it is usually used with ἄν (2, 5; 14, 23; 15, 16) in the neuter accusative singular, but it appears alone here and in Acts 9, 6 (SABC).

It is noted further that the appearance of εἶπον in conjunction with λαλῶ is Johannine. In 12, 49 and 16, 4 there are parallel constructions; in other places the two occur in the same context.[28]

$P^{66}$ thus provides the basis for a solution to a thorny textual and exegetical problem, and, if adopted, should ease the burden of future commentators.

[26] 2,4; 3,10–13; 10,25 f.; 14,9; 18,20 f. to say nothing of other instances where a preliminary reply calls for further explanation.

[27] Andoc. 3, 20; Gen. 41,21; etc.

[28] 4,27; 17,1; 18,21; 12,41.

# IS LUKE 16,16–18 OF BAPTIST'S PROVENIENCE?

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In 1928 Maurice Goguel declared that Luke 16,16–18 was 'sans relation organique sensible,[1] and thereby repeated the result of older German research.[2] Now David Daube has been able to show a continuous chain of ideas in this passage [3] and has thus confronted the exegesis with a new situation. Therefore the question of the historical place of the passage becomes urgent once more.

It certainly does not belong to the Lucan framework.[4] That it is a 'Gemeindebildung' is impossible, because the early Christian society knew of a ground for divorce: Matthew 5,32;19,9.[5] The Lucan code, which presupposes a radical rejection of divorce must contain the older version. The fact that verse 17 is formulated more radically than the parallel in Matthew 5,18 supports this conclusion.

Did the passage arise within some early Christian faction? At first sight the unqualified validity of the law and its cramping interpretation might point in this direction. But the mention of the Baptist speaks against this solution. He seems to have figured only in a particular early stratum of the message of the primitive church [6] and then not again until the fifties.

Is it derived from Jesus? Such an acknowledgment of the law,

[1] Jean Baptist, p. 62.

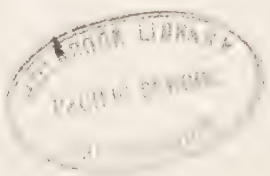
[2] Cf. E. Klostermann, Das Lukasevangelium [2] S. 166.

[3] The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 292 ff. E. Hirsch, Frühgeschichte des Evangeliums II (1941) S. 65 f. had assumed that the passage formed one unit in the Lucan source, but held that it was composed of heterogeneous material.

[4] As for v. 17 E. Conzelmann, Die Mitte der Zeit (1954) S. 14 does indeed maintain this. But how this extreme wording came about he does not explain. Concerning v. 18 he remains silent.

[5] These passages are modifications introduced by the Christian society (see also F. C. Burkitt, J. Th. St. 1904, p. 628 and cf. T. W. Manson, The Sayings of Jesus, p. 136 f.) and also the Syrian version $syr^{sin}$ and pesch mark an alleviation (see A. Merx Lucasevangelium S. 332). 1 Corinthians 7,10 f. (v. 11a interpolated? thus G. Holsten) seems to go even further. Manson has shown that Luke 16,18 is the oldest version of the marriage-logion. He could not prove that it belonged to Jesus. And apart from this he did not consider the context.

[6] Namely the formulae of Peter (for which see E. Stauffer, Theology, p. 245) Acts 1,22;10,37;13,23 ff.



although many scholars think he made it in so many words,[7] cannot go back to him — certainly not an intensification of the Torah (Toraverschärfung) as it is proclaimed here and in the Zadokite Fragments.[8] Yet the description of the success of the preachers of v. 16c can hardly refer to the result of Jesus' teaching. And the theology of history which underlies v. 16a is not attested in the genuine sayings of Jesus.

Has the passage perhaps a pre-Christian background? If so the Baptist or his circle would have to be considered first. Gustav Hölscher was the first to point out the possibility that words of Jesus might be transposed sayings of the Baptist.[9] We know that he was a teacher of Torah-justice.[10] His ascetic traits and those of his closer circle indicate an intensification of the Torah.[11] His objection to a lax interpretation of the marriage laws brought about his downfall.[12] Polygamy and niece-marriage were simi-

[7] Discussion in H. Windisch, Der Sinn der Bergpredigt [2] (1937, American transl., 1942) chapt. 3; see also H. Braun, Th. L. Z. 1954, Sp. 347.

[8] See 5.10. The parallel passage shows that it is not necessary to consult the eschatology for the interpretation of Luke 16,18 as M. Dibelius (Formgeschichte S. 249) does.

[9] Urgemeinde und Spätjudentum (Avhandlinger utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps Akademi i Oslo, 1928) S. 18 footnote 2.

[10] See Matthew 21,32. This statement concerning the Baptist was certainly made by Christ.

[11] See especially Mark 2,18; Luke 11,1; most probably the baptism itself has to be understood in this way.

[12] The tradition in Luke 3,19 is surely historical. The attack against the marriage of the tetrarch would most probably have been one reason, if not the cause itself, for the arrest. Herodias had deserted her husband; but apparently a divorce took place later (cf. R. Eisler, *Ἰησοῦς βασιλεύς* II,15 footnote 1). In this instance it was easily granted. Just as the Herodians quite generally adopted the Hellenistic regal laws (see H. Zucker, Studien zur jüdischen Selbstverwaltung im Altertum [1936] S. 70 ff.), the female members claimed the independent right of divorce (cf. Jos. Ant. 15 § 259), which was conceded by the Greek-Roman law (See W. Erdmann, Die Ehe im alten Griechenland [1934] S. 388 ff.; C. F. Herrmann, Griech. Privataltertümer IV [2] S. 264; E. Levy, Der Hergang der röm. Ehescheidung [1925] S. 76) but not by the Jewish system (See Jeb. 14,1 and cf. Z. Frankel, Grundlinien d. mosaisch-talmud. Eherechts [1860] S. XLII; M. Duschak, Das mosaisch-talmud. Eherecht [1864] S. 89 ff.; A. Billauer, Grundzüge d. bab.-talmud. Eherechts [1910] S. 67 ff.; Billerbeck I, 318; II, 23 f.; E. Neufeld, Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws [1944] S. 176 ff. There are indeed exceptions. In the Jewish community at Elephantine a woman could bring about a divorce by uttering the formula שנאת..בעלי [see Cowley No. 9, 14, 15 and Kraeling No. 7]. The same formula occurs in jKeth 5,11 [cf. J. N. Epstein, Jahrb. d. jüd.-literar. Gesellschaft 1909 S. 368 f.], but there it seems to have forced the husband to issue a bill of divorce. For divorce regulations in Islamic law see G. Bergsträsser, Grundzüge d. islam. Rechts [1935] S. 85. However, we do not expect that we should take this sideproduct of

larly opposed by the Quumranites.[13] It seems that just in this field he saw the cardinal point of strict observance. He himself declared the ἐγγικέναι of the kingdom and thereby proclaimed a εὐαγγελίον.[14] He lived to see that thereupon πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα καὶ οἱ Ἱεροσολυμῖται πάντες gathered together (Mark 1,5), that they all crowded into it.[15] If he knew himself to be the reëmbodied Elia, he must have seen himself — it belongs to the function of the Elias redivivus — as standing at the turning-point of two periods; thus the theology of history in v. 16a becomes intelligible. Clearly, from the point of view of *Motivgeschichte*, there is much that suggests his time. But can we bring such a conclusion into agreement with the facts of *Traditionsgeschichte*?

The decisive opening verse of the pericope appears in Matthew in connection with Christ's testimony to the Baptist, which is taken over by Luke with the exception of verses 12–14. The contents of v. 12 f. are modified in Luke 16,16 and those of v. 14 in Luke 1,17. This complicated state has made scholars uncertain.[16] But it is widely agreed that the sequence of the sayings in Luke is the more logical.[17] The synoptic state does not, there-

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Jewish law into consideration.) But since Jewish jurisprudence acknowledged legally granted marriage acts (Gitt. 9,2), it would seem impossible to speak of an illegitimate relationship in this case. Moreover, as D. Daube remarks, criticism was directed against her marrying her husband's brother rather than against her remarrying as such (p. 365). She married a man who was a) her half-uncle and b) the half-brother of her former husband. Niece-marriages were widely customary at this time and were considered praiseworthy in Rabbinic theory (see Bar Jeb 62b; Tos Jeb 2; Tos Kidd 1,4). Marriage with the ex-husband's half-brother is not evaluated in the sources; Gitt. 9,2 and Leviticus 18,16 do not supply direct information. If the Baptist opposed this marriage with such vehemence it was rather an expression of Torah intensification than that of mere loyalty to the law.

[13] See V. Aptowitzer, Heb. Un. Coll. Ann. IV (1927), p. 232 ff.

[14] True, Conzelmann S. 13 gives ἀπὸ τότε a meaning which excludes John the Baptist. As this, however, does not correspond to the parallel passage in Matthew (which according to Conzelmann was the pattern of Luke) Luke should have indicated his opinion more clearly. Moreover, ἀπὸ τότε is more easily taken in an inclusive sense. (See D. Daube p. 285 f.). Conzelmann's observations on the Lucan scheme of Heilsgeschichte and the place of John the Baptist within it are indeed correct to a large extent; yet Luke does not base his theory on chapt. 16,16 as is shown by the unframed form of the pericope.

[15] βιάζομαι probably used in the sense of the middle voice (cf. especially Ad. Merx S. 331).

[16] See J. Wellhausen, Lucasevangelium S. 89.

[17] A. v. Harnack, Lucas der Arzt S. 16; W. Bussmann, Synopt. Studien II, 62; E. Lohmeyer, Johannes der Täufer S. 20; F. Hauck, Lukasevangelium S. 206.

fore, necessarily presuppose a simple dependence of Luke on a Matthew pattern.

The details also hardly support a development from the Matthean tradition. The order *νόμος καὶ προφῆται* cannot have been chosen by Luke in opposition to Matthew.[18] Nor is he likely to be responsible for the abandonment of the *προφητεύειν* of Law and Prophets.[19] Verse 16b seems to have the character of a secondary transformation. We must remember that Luke does not like *εὐαγγέλιον*, but does frequently use *εὐαγγελίζειν* though usually in the middle voice.[20] The author of chapter 5,25 ff. rewriting the Matthean material would hardly have given v. 16c its present form.

To regard the two passages as independent revisions of Q-material as lately proposed by Wilhelm Michaelis,[21] does not lead us any further. Just as specifically Lucan characteristics are missing in Luke 16,16, so specifically Matthean ones are in Matthew 11,12. If the verse is taken out of its Q-context and put into juxtaposition with other logia, it remains completely puzzling.[22]

Probably Luke draws here on another source. Within his particular material there are a considerable number of references to the Baptist, amongst them also fragments of two sermons.[23] According to its contents the passage under discussion belongs to this group. How has it got into Christ's tradition? Luke or the community before him may have found in Q or Matthew a similar saying attributed to Christ, and therefore assumed the same source for the logion now preserved in 16,16–18. This process is not surprising at a time in which the actual Jesus-tradition acted as a magnetic field upon the most varied logia. The original connection with v. 16 f. and the Christianization of the whole conditioned the further development. The original connec-

[18] The problem of the Jewish law becomes of secondary importance for him; cf. most recently Conzelmann S. 126.

[19] Cf. E. Lohse, Evangel. Theologie 1954 S. 256 ff.

[20] Luke 7,22 forms an exception, a passage in which there is extremely little editorial work. Consequently Luke 16,16 must either also be derived from the Q-source and so be superior to Matthew 11, 12, or have a different origin.

[21] W. Michaelis, Einleitung i.d. Neue Testament[1] S. 65.

[22] Schlatters argumentation (Das Evangelium d. Lukas S. 548 ff.) is artificial.

[23] 1,5–25.57–80;3,2.10–14.15;11,1.

tion prevented the inclusion of the logion in chapter 7, 24 ff. together with other utterances concerning the Baptist, while the Christianization produced the cancelling of the Q-'parallel' in chapter 7. Thus the passage was placed as a sort of final statement (*Schlussbestimmung*) at the end of a group of pericopes which Luke has collected as being hostile to the Pharisees.

Originally the saying may have contained the message of the Baptist, i.e. his claim to offer something new with regard to the Law and the Prophets, in which the past was not suspended but radically preserved.

The Matthean text is not merely a revision of that of Luke, as Wilhelm Bussmann still assumed.[24] Προφητεύειν is probably a secondary smoothing out; but there are too many differences to be explained by mere modification. Moreover these are traditions which, though thematically connected, are yet historically independent of one another. The anti-Baptist tone [25] which is noticeable in the peculiar (and therefore probably old) [26] part of the Matthew-version excludes a history of the saying which could take it back to John, son of Zacharias. The quasi-tentative use of the Elijah-predication, a predication which in the *Gemeindetheologie* became fully established at an early date, speaks against the formation of the logion in this circle.[27] It may also be recalled that the eschatological activism of the disciples soon weakened after the master's death. On the other hand the phrase fits well into the time of Jesus. From the days of the great Baptist-movement [28] onwards many an effort was made to effect the βασιλεία [29] by definite actions.[30] The following are recognizable

[24] II,62.

[25] Cf. Goguel p. 68.

[26] ἁρπάζουσιν; for interpretation see W. Elert, Th. L. Z., 1947, Sp. 265 ff.

[27] R. Bultmann, Geschichte d. synopt. Tradition S. 179 favors the rise of the Elijah-motive in the Hellenistic community. It seems more likely that John saw himself in this rôle and only the correlation with Christology was the contribution of the community. Precisely this correlation, however, is not implied in our passage.

[28] These are the ἡμέραι Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ, which are soon to be followed by days of isolation (John 4,1) and persecution (John 3,23).

[29] The βιάζονται of Matthew 11,12 is to be understood most likely in this way. For the earlier history of this idea cf. W. Bousset, Die Religion d. Judentums im späthellenist. Zeitalter S. 217 and for the later cf. D. Daube, p. 289 f.

[30] The conjecture of A. Pallis, Notes on St. Luke and the Acts, p. 35 is unnecessary.

as inaugurated by the Baptist: [31] the transfer of the places of baptism to the clearer tributaries of the Jordan, the formation of an ascetic order of disciples, the constitution of a new people of God as hinted at by Josephus,[32] the accusation against Antipas. This was the right time to give a warning characterization[33] of the situation[34] which, in the eyes of the followers of the Baptist, was a new epoch of *Heilsgeschichte*, a source of rejoicing, but also a source of fresh demands.

Matthew 11,13 names *πάντες οἱ προφῆται καὶ ὁ νόμος*; this sequence corresponds to the usual scheme of early Christian theology.[35] All the more significant is the fact that the Lucan formula[36] recurs in another place, John 1,45.[37] This was at the time the favored expression in Baptist circles,[38] to which Philip seems to have belonged.[39] The two expressions are complementary and suit the thesis here advocated.

How far sayings of the Baptist and traditions of Baptist communities are linked and interwoven in this logion could only be established by comparing further baptistical substrata of early Christian literature.

[31] There is nothing to contradict the supposition that he was known by this name. In Rabbinical and priestly circles epithets were frequently used.

[32] Ant. 18 § 116 ff.; *βαπτισμῷ συνιέναι*. For an interpretation cf. Goguel, p. 16 (S'unir par une baptême); it is made even more probable by the DSS, especially if L. Rost is right in his thesis about the מורה היחיד (Th. L. Z., 1952, Sp. 723 ff.).

[33] This is underlined, if the Hebrew equivalents of *ἁρπάζω* and *βιάζομαι* have the same root (cf. D. Daube, p. 289). In that case *ἁρπάζουσιν* would be a gloss on the baptistical word.

[34] We are assuming no more than that the main outline of Matthew 11, 12–14 goes back to Jesus' teaching. Particularly the origin of v. 13 is uncertain (cf. footnote 35).

[35] Is this the Christian counter-formulation to the baptistical theology of history? The context (11,12–12,14) is concerned with Christ's opponents (see Dibelius, Formgeschichte S. 259). Might this have its origin in an apologetic collectaneum?

[36] Luke 16,29 is a recapitulation of the Jewish formula, as demanded by the context.

[37] Goguel p. 82 ff. presumes a well-informed source for this chapter.

[38] This is a linguistic usage which survived in some Hebraeo-Christian traditions. Justin, Dial. 51 (cf. W. Bousset, Die Evangelienzitate Justins des Märtyrers S. 99 f.) otherwise following the Matthean text has the introductory sentence: *ὁ νόμος καὶ ἡ προγῆται μέχρι Ἰωάννου*. And Aphraates quoted it similarly (see Ad. Merx, Matthäusevangelium S. 191). The continuousness of the Baptist's influence in this area is likely at first sight, but it has hardly been examined in detail so far.

[39] Important expositions in Merx, Johannesevangelium S. 67.

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